

AMERICAN ATTITUDES ON RUSSIA

THE AMERICAN REVIEW

ON THE

SOVIET UNION

REBUILDING THE DNEPR DAM
MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP B. FLEMING

CREDITS TO SOVIET AGENCIES IN THE U. S.
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(FULL TEXT IN TRANSLATION)

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TO OUR READERS

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HAIL, MAY!

And the downpour of sun,
 in one instant
filling my window with light,
and the tender touch of wind
intoxicating and strong, like wine,
and the rivers
carrying away with the current
ice recently cracked by the sun,
and the airplane known only
by its hearibeats,
 flying above the clouds
(happy sailing to you on your course),
and the garden,
 dressed in transparent smoke,
ready to flare up this minute,
and the striking of the clock
 in the Kremlin Tower,
and the friendly salutes
 of Spring thunder,
and the distant—
 today's and tomorrow's—
iron tread
 of our Russian armies
going west in an onslaught,
and the rustle of banners,
 and the roar of arms,
and the clang of caterpillars on narrow roads,
and the rumble of gay, steel horseshoes,
and the trill of the lark in the skies,
especially gay in the morning,
and the songs of our nearing victory,
and the Russian
 fiery "Hurrah,"
and the crowding of color and sound,
and the chatter of starlings,
 and the rook's caw,
and this warm poem,
greet you, MONTH OF MAY!

SERGEI VASILIEV
Translated by Mary Modell

An eminent Washington official—agency chief and engineer—on a recent Presidential mission to the Soviet Union, was the first foreign observer to witness reconstruction operations at the great hydroelectric development on the Dnepr. This is his report of the war damage and restoration program.

REBUILDING THE DNEPR DAM

MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP B. FLEMING

Administrator of the Federal Works Agency

THE great Dnepr Dam and Hydroelectric Station at Zaporozhe has had a fascination for me ever since its construction was begun in the Spring of 1927.

Not only was it a crowning achievement of the first Five-Year Plan, but it was the largest hydroelectric development in the world at the time of its completion, a record which it held for several years. Also, I had known the late Hugh L. Cooper, the American engineer who had had a very important part in the original design and construction of the project, for it was Colonel Cooper who gave me my first engineering job back in 1906.

For these, among other reasons, I gladly embraced the offer of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade to visit the dam, the more especially since I was the first non-Russian to be invited to make the trip since the German evacuation of October 14, 1943. An airplane and its crew were put at my disposal in Moscow October 4, 1944, and I spent three days at or near the dam as the guest of Mr. Inokenti Ivanovich Kandalov, Chief Engineer of *Dneprostoi*, who had been associated with Colonel Cooper at the inception of the project and is now in charge of the reconstruction.

I found Mr. Kandalov as friendly as he is competent, and he placed every facility at my disposal for seeing everything I wished to see and for talking to the people I wished to interview.

From Dnepr Dam, *Dneproges* (the hydroelectric operation) had supplied power to consumers in Zaporozhe, Dnepropetrovsk, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Krivoi Rog, Nikopol and other centers. The development also had made the Dnepr navigable from the Black Sea to its upper reaches, previously impossible because of the rapids between Zaporozhe and

Dnepropetrovsk. Three locks were provided at the dam, each 394 feet long and 59 feet wide.

Beyond its utility, the Dnepr dam was important as a symbol. It represented, both to the Russian people and to the world abroad, the Soviet Union's drive for industrialization. At the time of the Nazi invasion, its demolition—by the Russians themselves, according to reports at the time—was taken to symbolize Russian determination to fight to the end and to spare nothing in the scorching of the earth before the enemy advance. Actually it was the Germans, not the Russians, who wreaked the greater havoc.

The spillway dam was of the arch type, 760.5 meters long. Its greatest thickness at the base was 39.5 meters at the spillways and 44 meters at the piers. Its greatest height was 64 meters, or 220 feet above bed rock. Two inspection galleries ran through the whole length of the dam, one at a height of 49 feet from the base and the other 100 feet above the base. On top of the piers, at a height of 177 feet, a bridge for auto traffic connected the two banks of the river. On the upstream side, at a height of 201 feet, was a second bridge which carried the cranes used to manipulate the flood gates. The backed-up water extended 93 miles upstream and formed a basin with a capacity of 2,440,000 acre-feet.

The power plant was on the right bank, a direct continuation of the spillway dam, and contained nine generator units. The generator room was more than 750 feet long and 74½ feet high. The installed capacity of the completed plant was 558,000 kilowatts. In a year of high water the station could produce 4,400,000,000 kilowatt hours, compared to 2,900,000,000 kilowatt hours in an average year.

DEMOLITION PLANS CARRIED OUT

As the Germans approached Zaporozhe, the Russians were understandably reluctant to destroy the dam and power plant. It was not until artillery shells started coming over from the right bank that demolition plans, already formulated, were hurriedly put into effect. One generator-turbine unit was dismantled and evacuated. Other generators were short-circuited and burned out. Thirty tons of explosives were set off in holes drilled from the upper inspection gallery, and while some ten piers were said to have been destroyed, only that part of the dam above the inspection gallery was demolished. This damage was serious, of course, but it was not extensive enough to prevent the Germans from getting the plant back into at least partial operation by the summer of 1943 with a capacity of about 300,000 kilowatts.

By late September, 1943, it became the Germans' turn to retreat. They held on, however, until the last possible moment, apparently in the belief that the Russian advance could be held.

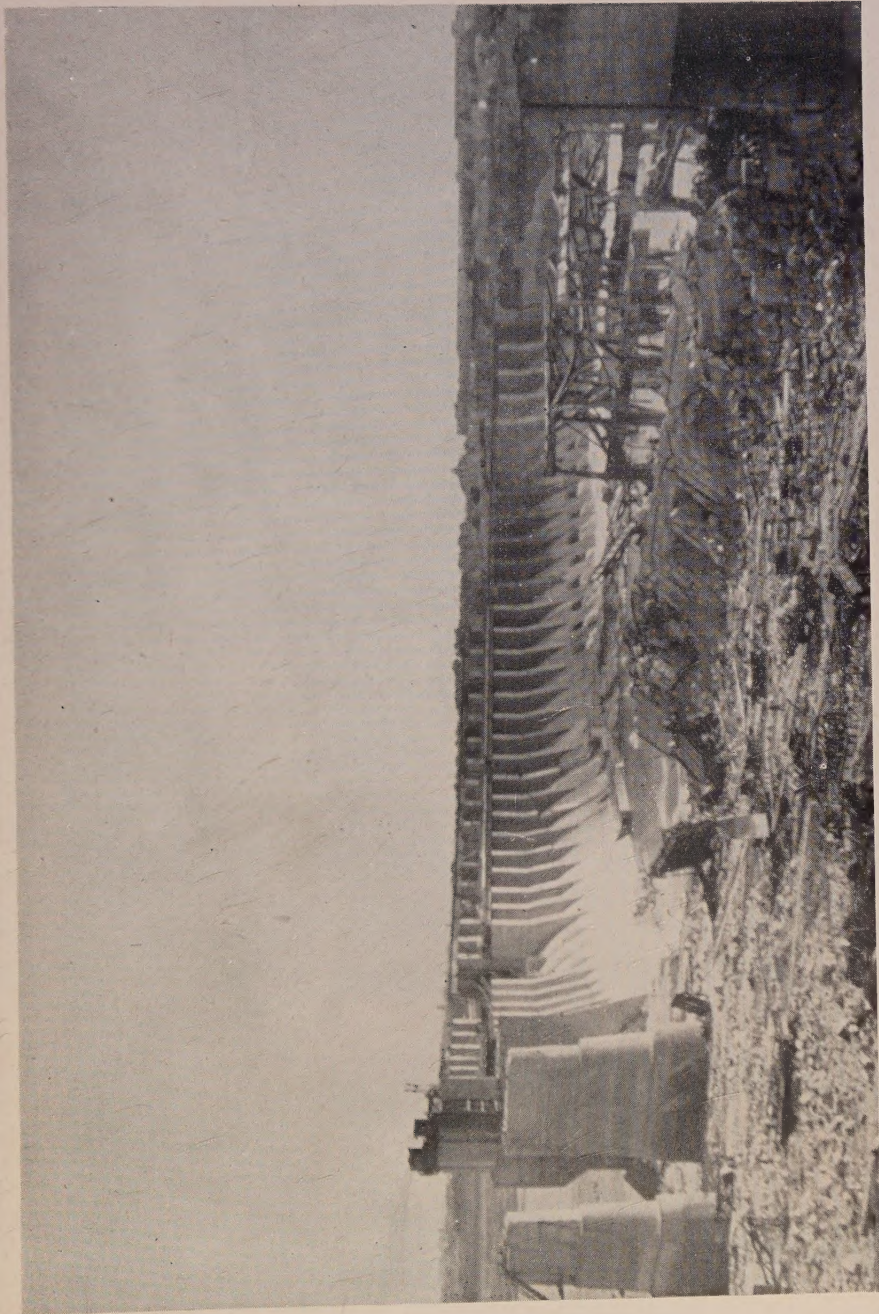
During my visit I saw workmen sawing up logs with a two-handed lumberman's saw while just across the river a sawmill was in operation. I asked Mr. Kandalov why it was necessary to use that relatively primitive and very laborious hand operation when the logs could be handled more quickly and efficiently at the mill. He pointed out that the logs had been peppered with lead from rifle and machine gun fire and that, coming in contact with the metal, the saw at the mill would have been ruined. It was therefore necessary to saw them up by hand so that the workmen could cautiously feel their way through them to avoid the lead. The fact that every tree in the vicinity had been similarly peppered affords some indication of the intensity of the fighting.

DESTRUCTION BY GERMANS

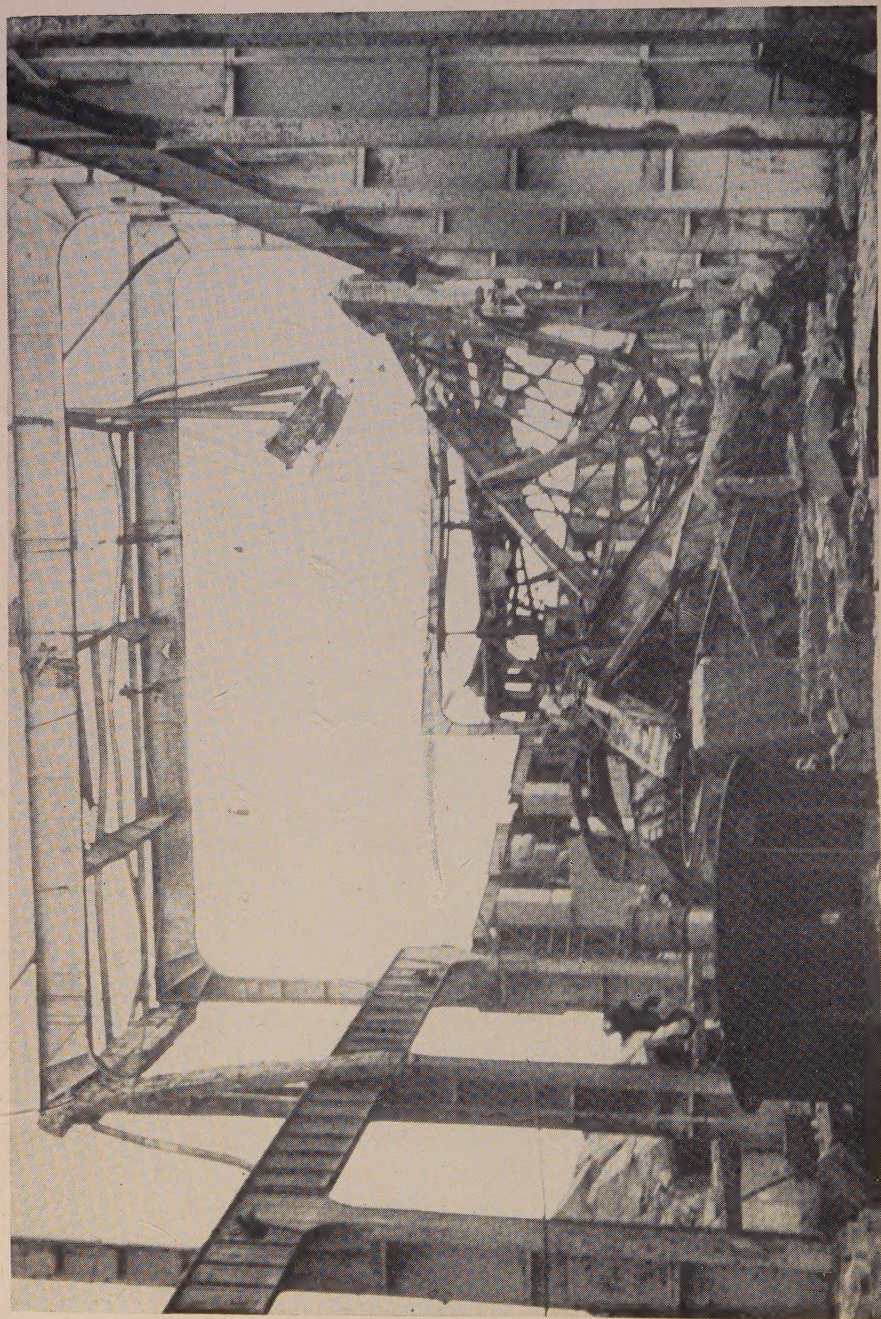
The first step the Germans took as the Russians approached was to remove about ten sets of flood gates and bridges from the eleven piers nearest the left bank and put them in place on the right bank side of the spillway dam. In the meantime, Russian artillery and rifle fire from the left bank was growing more and more intense. The Red Army brought up its rocket mortar "Katyusha," and is said to have inflicted terrific damage with it. The Germans, convinced by this time that they could no longer hold the dam, set about executing their plans for systematic destruction.

The power house was almost completely destroyed. Houses and auxiliary plants near the dam were demolished. The dam itself proved to be a pretty hard nut to crack, however, since it was almost impervious to ordinary explosives. Finally, the Germans brought up 200 half-ton aviation bombs and a large amount of toluol, drilled holes from the lower inspection gallery and put them in place. Leads were placed from the detonators to the right bank, cemented to the outside surface of the dam and emerged in Pier No. 0. The Russians report that through heavy fighting on the dam they got as far as Pier No. 0, noticed the leads and cut them. In any event, it was obvious the Germans had hesitated too long, for by the time they were prepared to blow up the dam the resulting flood would have wiped out their own bridges and communications and cut off their escape.

A general plan for the reconstruction has been established. By last October the upper inspection gallery had been repaired, its entrance



FROM THE DNEPR'S right bank, General Fleming photographed the head race to the powerhouse during his visit to the dam site in October, 1944.



THE AUTHOR'S photograph taken inside the wrecked powerhouse of the Dnepr Dam.

unearthed, and was being used by trucks hauling materials for the reconstruction. On top of the piers the bridge had been restored for the temporary use of a railroad hauling cement for the piers.

In order to reduce the water level so that work could proceed, eight or nine holes were drilled and blasted near the base of the dam, reducing the head of the dam from almost 40 to 11 meters. In the absence of necessary tools and equipment, this laborious work had to be done by hand. Rubble and wreckage were being removed from the generator room and the power dam.

The *Dneproges* factory, manufacturing equipment for the dam, had been put back into operation on a limited scale. At the time of my visit it was expected that cranes being built in the factory would be completed in a few days for use in removing the wrecked generators and turbines. The production of building materials locally had been organized. In addition to the sawmill, already referred to, quarries had been opened and a rock-crushing plant was nearing completion. Concrete was being mixed on the left bank and the production of cement was to be organized. Timber needed in reconstruction was being floated down the river. In addition, various metallurgical and other plants throughout the Soviet Union were stepping up production in assistance to *Dneprostoi*.

8,000 WORKERS EMPLOYED

Eight thousand workers were employed, about 65 per cent of them women recruited from neighboring collective farms. They were unskilled but were receiving some training on the job. In addition, a few technicians had been released from the army to work in the reconstruction; a number of war invalids also were employed.

Because of the shortage of tools and power equipment, most of the work was back-breaking hand labor. Chunks of concrete were being lifted into railroad cars. The work-day was eleven hours and the pay 540 rubles a month. In addition, workers received a ration of 600 grams of bread a day and an additional allowance for meeting or exceeding the work norm set for each. Two meals a day are served in the *Dneproges* restaurants, but those who prefer to eat at home can purchase rations at a closed store attached to the project. The workers appeared to be well fed, but poorly clothed.

Something of a crisis was expected to develop this spring because of the spring floods. High water would inundate the generator room, seriously delay the completion schedule and undo much of the work already done. During the spring thaw of 1944 the water level was lower

than usual, but not so low that operations were not endangered. By chance the debris of the old power dam formed a kind of coffer dam which prevented the flooding of the generator room. This debris must be removed, and undoubtedly has been removed by this time, to permit the reconstruction of the power dam. Accordingly, it will be necessary to build a coffer dam above the power dam, and it was intended to utilize the rubble from the old power dam for this purpose. This work had not advanced far, but while I have received no additional information since my visit, it is safe to assume that the coffer dam is nearing completion by this time.

The progress schedule calls for the delivery of the first generator and turbine unit by August 1, 1945. Installation will take four months so that it should be ready for operation by next December. Installation of the second unit is scheduled to begin in October, of the third by December 1, the fourth February 1, 1946, and the remaining units in 1946 and 1947. The first three units are to come from the United States.

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

In an article written for *Trud*, and published last October, Mr. Kandarov discussed the problems of reconstruction. I quote a few significant paragraphs:

"Neither contemporary technique, many years of practice of engineers, nor technical literature were able to give ready answers to many very complex problems. Construction engineers, hydro-technical engineers and electrical engineers were faced with the necessity of independently deciding the most serious problems. The work was complicated by the fact that it was impossible to apply the more or less successful solutions in a majority of cases to individual parts of one or another of the tasks. For instance, in order to reconstruct the dam individual projects of restoration had to be drawn up for each pier: on one it was sufficient to re-cement the cracks; on a second the pier had to be ringed with reinforced concrete belts; a third had to be completely reconstructed anew, etc. Our planners had to use all objects which remained undamaged. Reliability of construction had to be unconditionally secured. All work had to be planned so as to use the minimum expenditure of labor, materials and time. At present, all these problems have been basically solved. . . .

"A large quantity of different materials was needed: concrete, steel structures, lumber, machines and tools. We had to create our own material and technical base. This was done comparatively quickly.

On the left bank we organized quarries for sand and stone, installed two temporary cement mixers, partly restored the mechanical and repair factory which already is delivering steel structures for the construction of a powerful concrete factory. In Kiev Oblast (Region) we created a base for the supply of timber. The floating of timber down the river has been organized, and near the dam there has been built a sawmill in which the first saw has been installed. The first section of water supply, power supply, and compressors has been reconstructed."

In the city of *Dneproges*, half destroyed by the Germans, more than 115,000 square meters of living space had been restored, and on the left bank a part of the Home of Public Organizations had been put into operation. A club had been restored, and two moving picture theaters were open, along with seven stores, several restaurants, baths, barber shops, and a number of workshops.

For accomplishments to date, Mr. Kandalov gave unstinted praise to the workers and to "the self-sacrificing work of the whole collective."

"The Party and the Government are constantly giving *Dneproges* assistance," he added. "The collectives of industrial enterprises of the country are helping. Thus, the Spassk Cement Factory, during the pre-October Socialist Competition, has obliged itself to deliver 7,000 tons of cement above plan for *Dneprostoi* by November 7. The workers of *Dneprostoi* hope that this remarkable example will be emulated by the workers of other branches of industry as, for example, metallurgists, machine builders, and railway workers."

However, everything that had been done so far is only an insignificant part of the rehabilitation work still to be done, Mr. Kandalov wrote. He concluded:

"*Dneproges* was built by the whole country, and the whole country is taking part in the restoration of this greatest enterprise of Soviet electric power."



CREDITS TO SOVIET AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES

A Historical Review

E. C. ROPES

*Chief, Russian Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic
Commerce, U. S. Department of Commerce.*

THE history of the extension of credits to Soviet agencies in the United States, to finance exports or for other purposes, could be covered adequately only in a volume of considerable size. In this short article it is possible to bring out hardly more than the high points, which form a curve with abrupt lows and highs, culminating with proposed credits of billions for postwar Soviet purchases which do not arouse as much concern as those for a few millions did in the late 20's. It is not out of the way to say that as a credit risk the Soviet Union has traversed the distance from zero to one of the highest-rated in the world, and in popular esteem from the position of a distrusted disturber of world peace to that of a country without whose aid that peace will be impossible of attainment.

The extension of credit in any amount to Soviet buying agencies in the United States really began only after the establishment in 1924 of the Amtorg Trading Corporation as a consolidation of the Products Exchange Corporation and the Arcos-America Limited, both New York State corporations. These, and the Centrosyuz America, an agent of the Russian cooperatives, obtained a few short-term credits in their purchasing, but not enough to establish the Amtorg, as their successor, with sufficient standing in the eyes of American sellers and banks to justify a line of credit on goods worth millions of dollars for which the Amtorg at once began shopping. 'The billion dollars' worth of orders for United States products which Ludwig Martens in 1919 had dangled before the eyes of manufacturers and exporters held insufficient lure to attract loans to cover, and the attempts of Amtorg along similar lines met with the same reception. Only the All-Russian Textile Syndicate, in buying hundreds of thousands of bales of cotton, was able to persuade the Chase National Bank to finance its shiploads sent to Murmansk, and it has always been understood that that bank did not fail to protect itself against possible defaults in payment, by

requiring adequate deposits to Amtorg account to cover itself in case of need—a need which, it may be noted, never arose.

In 1926, therefore, the Amtorg, when buying from manufacturers in the United States, found itself usually obliged to pay cash on shipment, even at times with order; discounts for cash were occasionally offered and taken. Always, even when short credits were allowed, from 30 to 75 percent of the invoice was on a cash basis, with the balance running from 3 to 12 months. There was no general agreement on terms, each manufacturer making his own agreement, dependent on his usual export practice, the pressure of competition from rival manufacturers, and his own financial resources.

FIRST CREDIT CORPORATION

By 1927 the picture had improved somewhat for the Amtorg, though the general situation had not changed. This improvement was brought about by the establishment in New York of a corporation, later followed by others, to discount the credit portion of invoices presented to Amtorg, the portion covered by acceptances running up to 12 or more months, and carrying interest at 6 percent. The first company, the Industrial Credit Corporation, headed by a former American Amtorg official, secured the bulk of the business, and was understood to represent investors in the United States, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom who had confidence in Amtorg's ability to pay and were willing to wait until the acceptances matured.

For the service of providing cash to impatient or needy manufacturers, the rate of discount without recourse was high, up to a maximum of 45 percent of the face of an acceptance. But it may be assumed that, when possible, selling prices to Amtorg were adjusted to cover the cost of disposal of the paper; there is no record in this period of any manufacturer complaining of the ultimate results of the practice or refusing to sell to Amtorg except for cash. Indeed, there are cases known where Amtorg business in an otherwise slack market may have saved a manufacturer from the need of shutting down, temporarily or permanently. Particularly is this probably the case with the smaller machine-tool building firms and the manufacturers of oil-well machinery, who were faced with a low demand for their products at home and abroad.

It must be remembered that this situation prevailed in the United States, with Amtorg the only large potential buyer and manufacturers competing strenuously for all business, at a time when Soviet pur-

chases in Germany were being eagerly financed by the German government, although at fairly high rates and prices. The German example was followed by other European countries and later even by the United Kingdom and Japan. It is not surprising that the Amtorg pressed for credits in the United States on the strength of the credit standing of the Soviet Government in Europe, which enabled it to run up a large foreign debt for goods purchased abroad to carry on its drive for industrialization under the first Five-Year Plan.

THREAT TO CREDIT POSITION

Yet this very success in obtaining credits abroad became a threat to the credit position of the Soviet Government, which was always regarded as the real principal behind Soviet buying agencies abroad. Foreign purchases could be paid for only in goods or gold exported, and the maximum term on credits, even in Germany, was five years. Soviet gold production at that time was low, about 1,000,000 ounces a year, and Germany claimed all that could be spared. It has been estimated that prices dropped about 40 percent on goods exported from the Soviet Union and many sales were made under great resistance both from the home market against selling and the foreign markets against buying, except at prices below the world or local levels.

The situation that resulted from the over-extension of Soviet purchasing on credit, and the difficulties the Soviet Government met in procuring and selling the goods with which to meet its obligations, even under the rigid control of foreign trade by the State monopoly, naturally reacted against the Amtorg in its persistent demand for credits. Nor did the successful negotiation of a contract with the International General Electric Company—for generators and other electrical machinery to a value of \$26,000,000, with payments spread over five years—have any effect on the general resistance of manufacturers to granting the Amtorg similar terms on orders placed in the United States.

The Soviet authorities, however, temporarily succeeded in balancing outgo with income, by drastic reduction of imports, and in maintaining their reputation for prompt payment. A survey made in 1929 in the United States emphasized this reputation: while the terms of sale to the Amtorg varied considerably in the amount of cash demanded and the proportion and length of the credit portion of an invoice, there was no variation in the record of the Amtorg for paying as agreed.

By 1930 rumors began to circulate of a possible crop failure in the

Soviet Union, threatening the largest export, grains, and of the possibility of another famine like that of 1921. Yet during that year, in spite of the refusal of United States banks to finance Soviet orders, it was estimated that credits to the Amtorg rose to a high of \$80,000,000, dropping to \$40,000,000 by the end of the year. The maximum term for which credit was given seldom exceeded 18 months, and the discount rate on Amtorg paper in July 1931 remained at 25 percent. The American Manufacturers Export Association was reported in the press as advising terms of payment of 50 percent of invoice "down" or on shipment of goods, and a maximum of 6 months for the balance. But in certain fields of industry, like shipbuilding, much longer credits were urged by the manufacturers interested, although no orders resulted from this propaganda. Even the conservative banking fraternity was attracted by a proposal made in September 1931 for the creation of a special "bank" whose business it would be to discount Amtorg acceptances; but this plan also failed to develop into actuality. The memory of the Tsarist bonds floated in New York in 1916 was still too fresh.

RFC LOAN IN 1933

In the meantime, however, the Amtorg had firmly established itself as a bulk buyer of machine tools and similar equipment, and the Soviet Government had completed its first Five-Year Plan and launched the second, for the execution of which much machinery had to be purchased abroad. Preference was shown for Germany and the United Kingdom, where government-guaranteed credits were available. Congress was not willing to enter the field of guaranteeing payment for goods exported, under an extension of the Reconstruction Finance Act; the question of recognition by the United States of the Soviet regime was a further complicating factor in the situation. Many favored such recognition as a spur to lagging trade; others proposed a huge barter arrangement, whereby exports to the Soviet Union should be balanced by imports from that country.

The only actual result of all the discussion was a loan in July 1933 of \$4,000,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Amtorg, to enable the latter to purchase, and pay for in a year, about 75,000 bales of cotton, of which there was a large surplus in the country. Repayment of this loan, it may be added, was made promptly. It was not followed, however, by any further large sales of cotton or textile goods on credit, as urged by some manufacturers of the latter.

Nor did private efforts to set up a Discount Bank, to function as a channel by which sellers to Amtorg could shift their risks to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, ever get beyond the stage of obtaining favorable publicity and support from a number of prominent manufacturers. Other similar plans, which took their cue from Mr. Litvinov's offer in London in June 1933 of "one billion dollars' worth of orders" if a credit of that amount were offered by the countries interested, seldom even reached the public through the press.

EFFECT OF RECOGNITION

Recognition of the Soviet Union in November 1933 did not of itself affect favorably or unfavorably the Amtorg's credit standing. This continued to be dependent on the international financial position of the Soviet Government, which now, however, was becoming steadily stronger. The peak of the foreign debts assumed earlier had been weathered, no defaults marred the record of payment, and the economic situation of the Soviet Union had definitely begun to improve. The position of the Amtorg as a credit risk naturally reflected these favorable developments; its purchases on credit became an accepted custom with manufacturers and there was even some extension in the maximum terms granted. But the total of the orders placed in the United States was small, even taking into consideration the reduction in Soviet imports from all countries in 1933, and pressure for longer credits to permit larger purchases became insistent, usually in the form of a demand for United States Government support of individual exporters in their extension of the credits demanded. One proposal which received much publicity involved utilization of the newly-formed Export-Import Bank for Trade with Russia, a Government organization, to finance large credits with a term of 25 years. But for a number of reasons, few of which have ever been publicly disclosed, this bank was never allowed to function, and was finally closed.

Little actual change was to be noted at this time in the length of the credits extended to the Amtorg. They still seldom exceeded a maximum of 18 months, although some large sales were recorded without any cash payments, 100 percent of invoice being payable in 12 months. The interest rate on acceptances was reduced to 5 percent, however, and the discount rate dropped to 12 and later, by 1936, to 8 percent. The Soviet foreign debt had been reduced, by January 1, 1935, to \$150,000,000, and was not considered as a factor affecting the credit standing of the Amtorg.

More and more manufacturers and exporters accepted Amtorg orders, but their habit of years of selling for export for cash was a deterrent to the kind of mutual confidence and spirit of cooperation that the steadily increasing business relations should have engendered. On the one hand there was the confirmed custom of United States firms, on the other the insistence by the Amtorg on a change in that custom. The show went on, but there was a ghost behind the scenes, which occasionally made its presence uncomfortably felt.

NEW AMTORG POLICY

This condition persisted until 1938, when the Amtorg itself cut the Gordian knot by announcing that henceforth all purchases would be made on the basis of cash 45 days after the shipment of goods, the delay being necessary to permit time for inspection of the goods after their arrival in the USSR. This new policy proved readily acceptable to most firms selling to the Amtorg, and was maintained until 1939, when exports from the United States were seriously reduced by the outbreak of war in Europe. Although these rose again, in 1940, by 50 percent over 1939, the question of credit did not arise, for the need of the Soviet Union for the products then available only in the United States market was paramount, and the new basis of payment, now well established, was satisfactory to both buyer and sellers.

The ghost was laid, at least for the duration of the war. What will happen after the end of that struggle is unpredictable.



TWO CENTURIES OF RUSSIAN WRITING ON AMERICA

B. KAMENETSKY

BONDS of traditional friendship, mutual interest and sympathy have long existed between the Russian and the American peoples. There is considerable material in Russian publications illustrating the relationship of these two great peoples in various periods of their histories.

Even before the United States became an independent nation, a Russian translation of a book by an anonymous German author appeared in St. Petersburg in 1765 under the title, *A Description of North American Lands and Their Native Inhabitants. Translated from German into Russian by A. R.* This book of 420 pages was one of the first about America to be published in Russia.

In 1784 a three-volume *History of America* by the English scholar, William Robertson, appeared in a Russian translation. (The work had originally been published in London in 1777.) In an introduction to the first volume, Robertson discussed a visit to Russia to collect material on the geographic discoveries of Russians who had sailed from Kamchatka to America.

It will be recalled that, back in the 1640's, a Yakutsk Cossack named S. Dezhnev discovered the straits between Asia and America which were subsequently named the Bering Straits. An account of Dezhnev's travels was found in 1736 by G. Miller, a prominent Siberian historian; in January, 1758 he mentioned this account in *Works and Translations*, published by the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The documents themselves did not appear in print until the middle of the 19th century, when they were published in *Additions to the Historical Acts*, Vol. IV, pp. 8-27 (1851). Dezhnev, however, never reached American shores. In the first quarter of the 18th century, Vitus Bering succeeded in doing so under direct orders from Peter I.

In 1823 a book by V. Berg, devoted to Bering's expedition, was published in St. Petersburg. The full title follows: *The First Sea Travels of the Russians, Undertaken for the Solution of the Geographical Problem: Are Asia and America Connected; and Accomplished in 1727,*

A translation, slightly abridged, from *The Historical Journal*, Moscow, Nos. 3-4, 1943, a publication of the Institute of History, USSR Academy of Sciences. Translated by Mirianne Gold and Emily R. Lehnman.

1728, and 1729 under the Direction of Fleet Captain of the First Rank, Vitus Bering. With an Attached Brief Biographical Note of Capt. Bering and His Officers.

A more comprehensive edition of the documents of Bering's expeditions (containing Bering's own notations) was issued only a few years ago, in 1941. This collection of documents, entitled *Bering's Expedition*, was edited by A. Pokrovsky of the Moscow State Archives of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

Several of the many Russian travelers in America in the 18th century published books about their travels. In 1792 there appeared in St. Petersburg the book, *By a Russian merchant, Grigori Shelekhov, an eminent citizen of Rytsk; his first travels from 1783 to 1787, from Okhotsk along the Eastern Ocean to the American shores, and his return to Russia; with a detailed account of his discovery and acquisition of the islands of Kyktaka and Afagnaka, which were not reached even by the eminent English navigator Capt. Cook; and with a description of the manner of living, customs, rituals, dwellings and dress of the inhabitants*.

INTEREST IN WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN

In the 1780's, progressive social forces in Russia manifested a great interest in and sympathy toward the American struggle for independence.

An article by a well-known Russian educator, N. Novikov, entitled "A Brief Account of the Life and Personality of Gen. Washington," appeared in the Supplement to *Moscow News* for 1784, No. 84. The article ended with the following panegyric: "Rome had Hamilcar; Greece had Leonidas; Sweden, Gustav; England, Russell and Sidney. However, these glorious heroes do not compare to Washington: he founded a Republic, which doubtless will be a haven for liberty exiled from Europe by luxury and corruption."

Benjamin Franklin was the first American whose writings were translated into Russian. *Poor Richard's Almanac* was published in St. Petersburg in 1784. *Excerpts from Franklin's Notes with a Brief Description of His Life and Several of His Works* appeared in Moscow in 1794.

In his well-known *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* (1790) Alexander Radishchev characterizes Franklin as "he that tore the thunder from the heavens and the sceptre from the hands of the Tsars." In the same work Radishchev constantly praises America's democratic institutions. During the War for Independence the Russian government steadily maintained a friendly position toward the Americans. The so-

called "Principle of Armed Neutrality," proclaimed by Catherine II in 1770 and accepted soon after by several states, greatly contributed to the victory of the States. Documents dealing with this period are *Of the Armed Sea Neutrality*, edited by Obolensky, published in St. Petersburg in 1859, and preserved in the main archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the *Historical Study of Armed Neutrality* by V. Donevsky, published in Moscow in 1879. New publications of documents concerning Russian-American relations in the 18th century (specifically about "Armed Neutrality") are at present being edited by A. V. Efimov.

RUSSIAN VISITORS ABOUT AMERICA

Early in the 19th century, books by Russians who had visited America began to appear. Among them is the book *Two Trips to America by Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov, Written by the Latter*. This was published in St. Petersburg, Part I in 1810 and Part II in 1812. A book by P. Svinin, entitled *The Experiment of Picturesque Travel in North America*, was first published in 1815, with a second edition in 1818. The author of this book, editor of the periodical *Native Notes* and an eminent journalist, was secretary of the Russian Consulate General in Philadelphia. Svinin's book, containing many facts on American life, played a considerable role in acquainting Russian society with the United States.

The Petersburg monthly, *The Spirit of Journals*, from the beginning of publication printed articles dealing with the economics, governmental structure, culture, and customs of the United States. Here appeared the first Russian translations of the American Constitution, the Acts of Navigation, the most important acts of Congress and speeches of its most prominent members, etc. All this material was accompanied by sympathetic commentaries, which often became ecstatic panegyrics on American institutions.

American democratic institutions were a great magnet for republicans among the Decembrists: Pestel, Ryleev, Kokhovski, and others drew from America material for their own constitutional projects. K. F. Ryleev was, for a time, office manager of the Russian-American Company.

Alexander Herzen was a fiery champion of Russian and American unity. In his article "America and Siberia," Herzen wrote, "Both countries possess the strength, plasticity, spirit of organization, and a determination which knows no obstacles. . . . Searching for their boundaries through tremendous space, both roll into endless plains, and reach them

from opposite sides, dotting their paths with cities, towns, and colonies. . . . In her future Russia has only one comrade, one fellow-traveler—the United States of North-America.”¹

In the 1850's the great Russian democrat, N. G. Chernyshevsky, warmly welcomed the Abolitionist Movement in the United States and John Brown's uprising in 1859.

Chernyshevsky was particularly interested in the Civil War and devoted much space to it in articles called “Politics,” appearing in the journal *Contemporary* for 1861 and 1862.²

During the Civil War the Russian government sent two squadrons to America, under specific instructions to aid the North in the event of European intervention. Source material regarding these significant events was not published until after the Russian Revolution. These three documents are “The U. S. in the Epoch of the Civil War and Russia,” with an introduction by E. Adamov (*Krasny Arkhiv*, Vol. 38, pp. 148-162, 1930); “The Commissioning of Two Russian Squadrons to North America” (Documents of the Russian Naval Ministry for 1862-63. *Istoriik Marksist*, Book 3, pp. 101-115, 1936); and “Approach to the History of Russian-American Relations During the U. S. Civil War” (Diplomatic Correspondence. *Krasny Arkhiv*, Vol. 3, pp. 97-153, 1939). Dealing with the same question are A. Belomor's “History of the 2nd Pacific Squadron” (*Marine Journal*, Nos. 8 and 10, 1914), and V. Goncharov's “American Expedition of the Russian Fleet in 1863-4” (*Marine Journal*, No. 8, 1913).

BOOKS ON THE CIVIL WAR

During the Civil War, Russian statesmen constantly exchanged visits with government leaders of the United States. A memorial to these visits appears in the form of a curious book entitled *Americans in Russia, and Russians in America. Celebrations and Speeches of Americans and Russians in New York, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, and Kostroma* (St. Petersburg, 1866).

Because of Russia's tremendous interest in the victory of the North over the slaveholding South the finest works on the Civil War by American and European historians were translated into Russian. Among these were M. Lange's *Abraham Lincoln and the Great Struggle Between the Northern and Southern American States (1861-1865)*, St. Petersburg, 1867; G. Fletcher's *History of the American War*, St. Petersburg, 1867;

¹ A. Herzen, *Works*, Vol. IX, pp. 400-401. St. Petersburg, 1906.

² N. Chernyshevsky, *Works*, Vols. VIII and IX, 1906.

D. Draper's *History of the North-American Internal War*, St. Petersburg, 1872.

In the 1870's Professor I. Housman of the Petersburg Academy of the General Staff published a detailed original work of research on the Civil War, *War in the U. S. A. (1861-1865)*, Parts I and II, St. Petersburg, 1877-8. Here for the first time in scientific literature an extensive analysis was made of the newest military techniques employed in this war.

Russian historians have for many years devoted themselves to the study of Russian-American relations. Many books appeared in the 19th century. *A Survey of the History of the Russian-American Company* was published in St. Petersburg in 1861 (Vol. I) and 1863 (Vol. II). (The author, P. Tikhmenev, a shareholder in the Company, utilized its extensive files.) S. Yakovlev's *Extraordinary American Embassy in Russia* appeared in Moscow in 1866. There has been a number of other works.

Soviet historians are studying questions of American history and Russian-American relations. In 1936 A. Efimov wrote *An Approach Toward the History of Capitalism in the U. S. A.* In 1939 the Social-Economic Publishing House in Moscow published simultaneously two fundamental works: Malkin's *The Civil War in the U. S. and Tsarist Russia* (331 pp.), and S. Okun's *The Russian-American Company* (620 pp.).

During the Great Patriotic War the interest of Soviet historians in the history of the allied American people and their relations with Russia has naturally grown. Several Soviet historians are preparing works on these subjects.

NEWS IN BRIEF

FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

PREPARING FOR ECLIPSE

A SPECIAL commission set up by the Academy of Sciences has been working since the fall on plans for observing the total eclipse of the sun July 9th. In the USSR the track of totality, a belt about 40 miles wide, will run southeast from the Lake Ladoga area near Leningrad to Kzyl-Orda in the Kazakh Republic; maximum duration will be 61 seconds. Sixteen Soviet scientific institutions will be represented in expeditions which will observe the solar phenomenon at various points in the Ladoga area, in the Volga area near Kuibyshev, and at Kzyl-Orda.

GHQ FOR STUDY OF ARTS

TO COORDINATE the study of art, architecture, music and drama in the USSR's higher educational institutions, museums and conservatories, an Institute of Art History has been founded in Moscow. Igor Grabar, dean of Soviet art scholars, is its director. The five departments of the institute and their directors are as follows: history of painting and sculpture, V. Lazarev; architecture, A. Shchusev; music, Prof. N. Garbuzov; theater, Prof. A. Jivilegov; restoration and technology, under the direct supervision of Igor Grabar.

Leading Soviet art scholars are associated with the institute, and will contribute to a three-volume history of Russian art which will be its first publication. Important but hitherto unpublished materials in the same field will also be issued by this new general headquarters of the Soviet arts, which will also sponsor many art expeditions and study specimens of western art in the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW'S DIVINITY INSTITUTE

THE FIRST theological seminary to be opened in Russia since the Revolution observes its first anniversary on June 14, 1945. This school, which prepares clergymen for the Russian Orthodox Church, has its headquarters in the Novodevichi Monastery in Moscow. The historic sixteenth century abbey was dedicated to this new use with ceremonies in which Metropolitan Alexei of Leningrad (now Patriarch of all Russia) and other leading Russian churchmen took part.

As reported in the journal of the Moscow Patriarchy, Metropolitan
(Continued on page 92)

What the American People Think of Russia

WARREN B. WALSH

*Associate Professor of History and Chairman of the
Board of Russian Studies, Syracuse University*

This article, which provides new material about American attitudes toward and knowledge of the Soviet Union, is an abridgement from The Public Opinion Quarterly (Winter Issue, 1944-45), School of Public Affairs, Princeton University. In addition to Dr. Walsh's analysis of the October, 1944 poll reprinted here, his complete article interprets earlier public opinion surveys (1939-1944) upon which his conclusions are also based.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE toward Russia reflects feelings more than facts. Most of us have opinions about the Soviets and their government. Very few of us appear to have accurate information about them.

In our adult population of approximately 90,000,000, there are 63,000,000 of us who don't know that Russians are allowed to have some forms of private property such as a car or house; there are 58,000,000 of us who don't know that differential wages are paid in the Soviet Union; 75,000,000 of us don't know that only a relatively few people in Russia are members of the Communist Party; 70,000,000 of us don't know that the Russians themselves have produced most of the war materials used by their army; 42,000,000 of us don't know that the avowed aim of the Soviet government is to build Russia into a strong socialist state (Table 1). These are some facts recently uncovered by a nation-wide survey.¹

¹ The survey was made in October, 1944 by the Office of Public Opinion Research, Princeton University. I wish to express my thanks to Hadley Cantril, Director, for permission to use these materials and for other assistance in the preparation of this paper. All data used in this article have been gathered by the Office of Public Opinion research unless otherwise indicated.

TABLE I

1. Are the people in Russia, as far as you know, allowed to have private property, such as a house, car or any money they save up for personal use?

Yes	30%
No	21
Don't know	49
2. Do you think all people in Russia are paid about the same amount of money for their work or are there wide differences in the amounts people are paid?

Same amount	20%
Wide difference	36
Don't know	44
3. Do you think all people in Russia are members of the Communist Party or are some people not Communists?

All Communists	12%
Some not Communists	63
Don't know	25

If "SOME NOT COMMUNISTS," ask:

Would you say that most people in Russia are members of the Communist Party or only a few are members?

- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Most people | 38% |
| Only a few | 16 |
| Don't know | 9 |
4. Do you think most of the war materials the Russian army has used such as tanks, planes, and guns, have been made in Russia, or do you think most of them have been obtained from this country or England through lend-lease?

Made in Russia	22%
Obtained through lend-lease	58
Don't know	20
 5. Do you happen to know which of these the Soviet government in Russia has said is its main purpose?

To spread Communism throughout Europe	5%
To spread Communism through the whole world	10
To build Russia into a strong socialist state	53
Don't know	32

If "TO BUILD RUSSIA INTO A STRONG SOCIALIST STATE," ask:
Do you believe this is what they really intend to do?

- | | |
|------------------|-----|
| Yes | 38% |
| No | 6 |
| Don't know | 9 |

The importance of such ignorance is, of course, enormous as we try to work out a foreign policy based on a sound and enlightened public

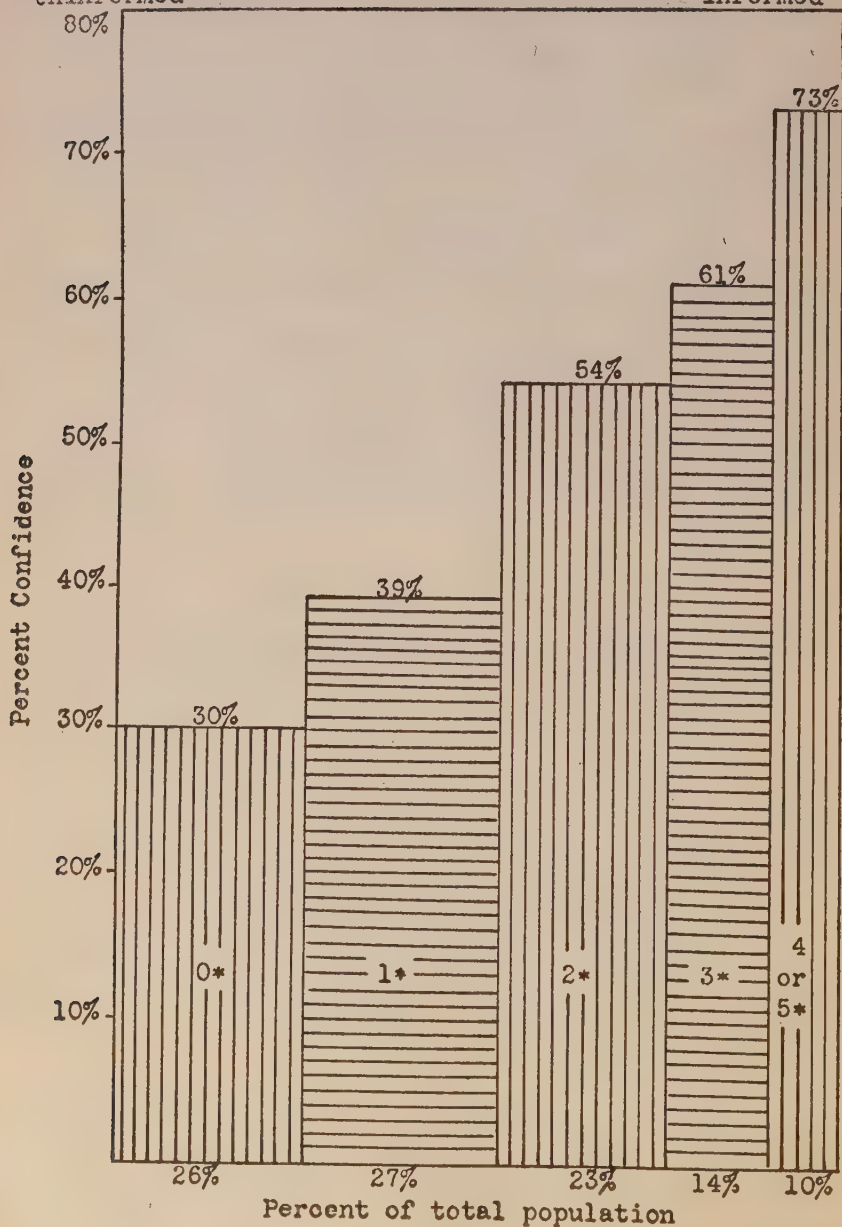
Figure 2

Relation between knowledge about Russia and
confidence in post-war cooperation

Well

Uninformed

informed



*Number of information questions answered correctly

opinion. Take, for example, the matter of Russian war material. Only about one-fifth of us seem to know that most of it has been made in Russia while three-fifths of us think most of Russia's weapons of war have been obtained through lend-lease. This false impression may lead us to under-rate both Russian industrial capacity and the magnitude of Russia's contribution to the defeat of Germany, and over-rate our own role in achieving joint victory. Although the figures show that a Russian-instigated world revolution is no longer a bogey to the American people—only 15% of us believe that the chief aim of the Soviet government is to spread Communism—Americans still think of Russia as a stereotyped Communist state where all forms of private property and differential reward for labor are tabō. A more accurate appraisal would be likely to facilitate sympathy and respect. Extremes cannot easily find common ground.

INFORMATION AND TRUST OF RUSSIA

It is noteworthy that those most inclined to trust Russia are people in the upper, not the lower income brackets (Table 2). And among those who trust Russia least are workers—both skilled and unskilled.

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ABOUT RUSSIAN COOPERATION
BY INCOME AND RELIGION, NOVEMBER, 1944

	<i>Believe Russia can be trusted</i>	<i>Believe Russia cannot be trusted</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
<i>Upper income group</i>	56%	34%	10%
Catholics	50	44	6
Protestants	59	30	11
<i>Middle income group</i>	51	31	18
Catholics	48	34	18
Protestants	48	31	21
<i>Lower income group</i>	42	37	21
Catholics	32	48	20
Protestants	44	34	22

This fact makes a mockery both of the fears of many conservatives about Russian sympathies in the ranks of labor and of the Marxist-Leninist theories of class solidarity. Catholics, irrespective of their income group, tend to be more suspicious of Russia than Protestants. But the clearest single determinant of confidence in Russian post-war co-operation seems to be a person's level of information about Russia. As

Figure 2 shows, the more one knows about the Soviets, the greater is his confidence in the possibility of satisfactory relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

THE PITH OF THE MATTER

1. Only one American out of ten is even reasonably well-informed about the Soviet Union.
2. We distrust and dislike Communism, but we recognize the permanence of the Russian system and are beginning to take the realistic point of view that we must learn to get along with the Soviets. While most Americans are still thinking of "Red Russia," they are no longer worried about world revolution.
3. There is a hard core of distrust about Russia. Roughly one out of three does not trust Russia, and this group clings stubbornly to its opinion. There is a smaller number—roughly one out of five—which is more pliable and whose opinion can be changed.
4. The decisive factor in American opinion toward Russia appears to be neither class, nor religion, nor political preference, but information. The way to prepare the American people for friendly and effective cooperation with the Russians is to supply them with an adequate, accurate knowledge of the Soviet Union. And to do this, the whole-hearted cooperation of the Soviet government is essential.



RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF—FACTS IN FIGURES

1944

1943

Sept. 15, 1941-
Dec. 31, 1942

INCOME

Cash (primarily from National War Fund allocations in 1943 and 1944)
Contributions in kind

\$6,502,478.80	\$ 8,530,962.40	\$ 8,019,272.90
775,255.77	7,742,430.32	14,675,839.81 ¹
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
\$7,277,734.57	\$16,273,392.72	\$22,695,112.71

Total Income

SHIPMENTS

Gross Tonnage
Value

not available	8,939	10,517
\$1,007,245.74	\$15,598,600.63	\$18,274,360.11 ²

CHARACTER OF SUPPLIES

Medical and surgical supplies (76.1% of dollar value); clothing, blankets, sheets; seeds, food; miscellaneous.

Clothing, textiles (61.7%); medical and surgical supplies; seeds, food; watches; miscellaneous.

Clothing, blankets, textiles (72.8%); medical, surgical and chemical supplies (12.3%); household kits (9.3%); seeds, food (3.9%); watches and miscellaneous (.7%).

¹ (\$11,842,469.17 in clothing, blankets, textiles; \$1,894,976.87 in kits)

² Includes shipments worth \$98,213.74 for Czechoslovakia and Poland. In addition, goods worth \$959,334.25 were in transit to ports or awaiting shipment there at the end of the year.

In a little more than three years, Russian War Relief has developed into the world's largest wholly private war relief organization and has collected from the people of America a total of \$46,246,240 in voluntary contributions of cash and goods—a token of sympathy and good will for the Soviet people in their epic struggle against a common foe. The relief program continues to expand, with sights set for \$12,000,000 worth of supplies during the first six months of 1945. Addressing the annual meeting of RWR (in New York last February 5th) president Edward C. Carter declared, "There cannot yet be a fixed end-date to our organization. The end will be dictated jointly by the need and by the wishes of the American people."

Russian War Relief's growth as both a collection and shipping agency is charted above.

COLLECTIVE FARM INCOME AND DIFFERENTIAL RENT

I. LAPTEV

This translation of an article by one of the U.S.S.R.'s leading agricultural economists represents a major addition to the material available in English on the political economy of collective farming. Two significant points discussed are the role of differential rent in the U.S.S.R., and the stress laid by Soviet agricultural policy on the development of the collective farmers' socialized economy in contrast to their personal holdings. The article also contains important new data on agricultural production in the Soviet Union.

Laptev's article appeared originally in the mid-August, 1944 issue (No. 16) of Bolshevik, the theoretical and political journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This unabridged translation is by Emily G. and Vladimir D. Kazakévich.—Editor's Note.

THE Soviet peasantry, under the leadership of the party of Lenin and Stalin, in years of peaceful construction on the basis of the collective farm [*kolkhoz*] system transformed a backward agriculture into a large-scale advanced socialist rural economy. The collectivization of agriculture has strengthened the military might of the Soviet state. In the difficult conditions of the Patriotic War against the German invaders, the collective farm system has assured an uninterrupted supply of food for the population and Red Army and of raw materials for industry. In wartime the collective farms have shown themselves to be the best form of organizing the forces of the collective farm peasantry for the increase of food and raw material resources. The self-sacrificing labor of the collective farmers and the socialist competition that has developed on all collective farms testify to the profound patriotism of the collective farm peasantry.

Stalin's teaching on the advantages of socialist agriculture is a powerful theoretical weapon in the work of party, soviet, and agrarian organizations. Great significance attaches to the words of Stalin, spoken before the war in a conversation with economists on the subject of the transformation under socialism of differential rent, the very existence of which had been denied both in our economic literature and in the teaching of political economy.

I. Nationalization of the land and the abolition of absolute rent in the USSR

Nationalization of the land, which was carried out by the Great October Socialist Revolution, led to fundamental revolutionary transformations in the agrarian system and agrarian relationships of our country.

In nationalizing the land, the Soviet state did away with private property in land and, consequently, also with absolute land rent.

Under the dictatorship of the working class, nationalization of the land was one of the most important prerequisites for the construction of a socialist society. Lenin wrote, "Nationalization of the land that was carried out in Russia by the proletarian dictatorship provided the highest guarantees for carrying the bourgeois-democratic revolution to its end. . . . In addition, the nationalization of the land has given the proletarian state the maximum opportunity for passing to socialism in agriculture." (*Coll. Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. XXIII, p. 403 [*Sel. Works*, Eng. ed. (New York, International, n.d.), Vol. VII, p. 206].)

The significance of nationalization of the land for the development of state farm [*sovkhoz*] and collective farm production has been revealed with exhaustive fullness by Comrade Stalin in his teaching on the collectivization of agriculture. As early as 1924, in his lectures on "The Foundations of Leninism,"¹ Comrade Stalin emphasized the radical difference between the situation of the Soviet peasantry, under conditions of nationalization of the land, and that of the peasantry in the West, under conditions of private property in land. The abolition of private property in land delivered the Soviet peasant from slavish attachment to a patch of land; it facilitated and accelerated the transfer of the basic masses of the peasantry to the new, collective farm path. Comrade Stalin, in his works, "A Year of Great Change" and "Questions of Agrarian Policy in the USSR,"² in shattering the enemy theories of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites (defenders of the capitalist path of development), showed that nationalization of the land and the abolition of absolute rent give new advantages to state and collective farms. First of all, as distinguished from capitalist countries, in organizing large-scale farms there is no necessity for us to incur unproductive expenses in the purchase of land and payment of absolute land rent. Nationalization of the land under conditions of the Soviet system was a most im-

¹ See Joseph Stalin, *Leninism* (New York, International, n.d.), Vol. I, pp. 13-101.—*transl.*

² See Joseph Stalin, *Leninism: Selected Writings* (New York, International, 1942), pp. 134-144 and 145-164.—*transl.*

portant prerequisite for the transformation of agriculture on a socialist basis.

II. *Nationalization of land in the USSR and differential rent on the peasant farm*

Differential rent is not tied in with private property in land. Because of the limited land area and the monopolistic nature of agriculture, differential rent arises as a result of differences in labor productivity on different tracts of land. Capitalist farms situated on the best lands, nearest to the markets, or making additional investments of capital, receive an excess profit, which forms the differential rent.

Nationalization of the land could not of itself lead to the abolition of differential rent. But under Soviet economy differential rent has been transformed. Nationalization of the land, carried out by the Soviet power, meant transfer of the land to the peasantry free of charge for their use in perpetuity, and the Soviet state did not collect rent from the peasants for the right to use the land.

Nationalization of the land in our country was one of the prerequisites of collectivization. On the nationalized land, before the transition to general collectivization, there existed a sea of small and infinitesimal peasant farms. But a petty commodity economy gives birth to capitalist elements daily, hourly, and on a mass scale. From the first day of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet state gave preference to large-scale socialist farms. The Soviet state rendered manifold assistance to the poor and middle peasants, protecting them from the exploitative inclinations of the kulak class. Nationalization of the land, prohibition of the purchase and sale of land, establishment of land tenure on the basis of labor, and other economic measures resulted in the restriction and crowding out of capitalist elements in the village.

For the small peasant farm under Soviet economic conditions, differential rent is expressed as an extra surplus product, created by the personal labor of the peasant family. But on a small peasant farm opportunities to produce this surplus were extremely limited. Because of primitive techniques and individual labor, the basic mass of poor and middle farms not only failed to secure an annual expanded reproduction, but they were not always able to realize even simple reproduction.

On kulak farms, differential rent was based on the exploitation of the poor and some of the middle peasants.

The Soviet state collected part of the differential rent from the

individual peasants through a system of taxes, although small holdings (35 per cent of the peasant farms in 1929) were altogether exempted from the agricultural tax. The agricultural tax on individual peasant farms was devised on the principle of progressive income taxation, that is, it grew larger as the taxable income increased. A personal tax was introduced for kulak farms.

Kulak farms (4 to 5 per cent of all peasant farms in the Union) paid 30 to 45 per cent of the total agricultural tax revenues receivable from the peasantry.

The data cited above are characteristic of the tax policy of the Soviet state, which alleviated the position of the poor and middle peasants. The tax policy of the Soviet state was directed toward the strengthening of the alliance with the middle peasantry, the restriction and crowding out of capitalist elements; this determined the particular form of appropriation of differential rent on the peasant farms.

The Soviet state regulated prices of agricultural products. By regulating prices the state strengthened its own position in the agricultural market and squeezed out private capital. This also substantially distinguished the formation of differential rent under Soviet economic conditions from its formation under the capitalist economic system, where prices are formed spontaneously, as a result of competition.

Accordingly, under Soviet economic conditions the differential rent received on small peasant farms was not the same as under capitalism. It went toward improving the material condition of the middle and poor peasants and was in part passed on to the state, whereas under capitalism it goes into the pockets of the large landowners and the bourgeois state. Furthermore, under Soviet conditions a restriction and crowding out of kulak farms took place, and the differential rent of the kulak farms was collected by the state through a system of taxation imposed on the kulak class.

III. Transformation of differential rent in socialist agriculture

General collectivization brought about fundamental revolutionary transformations in the production and distribution of agricultural products. In place of a scattered, small-peasant production there was created on a socialist basis the largest-scale agriculture in the world. Private property in the basic means of production was replaced by common socialist property. The individual labor of the peasant on an individual farm was replaced by collective labor on a commonly owned socialist farm. The collective farm peasantry was forever freed from exploita-

tion. Collective farmers—the members of a particular agricultural *artel*—are the full and rightful owners of everything produced and all income received on the commonly owned farm. The social nature of collective farm incomes is thus determined by the collective farm-cooperative form of socialist property.

Another characteristic feature of the collective farm economy is that nearly all collective farms are serviced by state-owned means of production, through the MTS [machine-tractor stations] system. The most important agricultural work is on the whole mechanized. Through the MTS, the state makes enormous investments of means of production and labor in the sphere of agriculture. The volume of capital investments in agriculture during the period of the first and second Five-Year Plans came to nearly 27.5 billion rubles. In 1944, in difficult wartime conditions, the state budget allotted 7.2 billion rubles to the financing of agriculture. The combination of state-owned means of production with those of the collective farms and of the independent operations of the collective farmers introduces substantial peculiarities into the value formation of collective farm output. In the value of collective farm output are embodied expenditures not only of the collective farm, but also of the state.

Quite naturally, expenses incurred by the state in servicing the production process of the collective farms by the machine-tractor stations must be reimbursed from the value of collective farm products produced with the participation of the MTS. In practice this is accomplished through payment made to the state by the collective farms, in money and in kind, for the work of the MTS. The rate of payment in kind for the work of the MTS is established in relation to the size of the harvest.

However, the MTS are not rental agencies whose sole purpose is to recover expenses incurred in servicing collective farms. As state-owned organizations in the village, the MTS play an enormous role in the organizational-economic strengthening of the collective farms. As a result of the increase in mechanization and the advantages of the collective farm system, labor productivity on the grain collectives in 1937 was already 315 per cent higher than on the individual peasant farms. The collective farms, thanks to their high degree of mechanization, were enabled to make more effective use of their means of production. The MTS introduced a fundamental change in the character of the social labor expended by collective farmers in the production of agricultural products.

Socialist cooperation in labor made possible the planned utilization of labor power, the creation of new, progressive forms of labor organization (brigades and teams), the planned division of labor and its specialization, the development of individual incentives on the basis of piecework, etc. Higher productivity of labor in agriculture has made it possible to produce in greater volume with a smaller expenditure of labor on each production unit.

The high degree of mechanization of collective farm production and the advantages of the collective form of production made it possible to raise labor productivity and thereby to increase the amount of surplus labor, which is the fundamental source of development for collective farm-cooperative commonly owned socialist property.

Gross output of a collective farm consists of the portion that goes into replacement of worn or wholly expended means of production and the net output, in which is embodied the newly added social living labor. The total social labor newly added by the collective farmers in a year's production forms the gross income of the collective. In the gross income is embodied, therefore, the necessary and surplus labor of the collective farmers.

As is known, the mode of distribution is determined by the mode of production. Gross income in capitalist society consists of wages, profit, and land rent. The gross income of the small peasant under capitalism amounts to only the minimum required for physical existence, but all of the surplus labor and even a part of the necessary labor is taken from him in the form of rent, taxes, and exactions of various kinds.

A socialist mode of production stipulates also socialist forms of distribution. Gross income in a socialist society is divided among (1) socialist accumulation, (2) reserve funds, (3) satisfaction of the state's needs and requirements, and (4) the personal needs of the toilers in accordance with the quantity and quality of their labor. Let us see how this is illustrated by the gross income of the collective farm.

In distributing its product, the collective farm must first of all execute fully all its obligations to the state. These consist of obligations in kind (compulsory deliveries of agricultural products, including the Red Army fund, payment in kind for the work of the MTS, and the repayment of seed and food loans granted by the state) and obligations in money (taxes fixed by law, insurance payments, and also the repayment of monetary loans and of the interest on them). In accordance with the decision of the general assembly, allocations are made for the

sale of products to the state and for collective farm trade. Prompt, complete fulfillment of obligations to the state, as a matter of primary importance, is altogether consistent with the interests of the collective farms themselves. The socialist state invests enormous means in the country's defense, in the national economy, public health care and education, and is of great assistance to the collective farms in their production. The fulfillment of obligations to the state is a necessary condition for the normal course of expanded reproduction on the collective farms.

The collective farms develop in the direction of expanded reproduction, year by year increasing accumulation from the growth of net income. Most important for the continuing expansion of production is the supplementing of the undistributed fund. The undistributed fund of the collective farms consists of socialized property and entrance fees, funds set aside from monetary income (at the rate of not less than 12 per cent and not more than 15 per cent for grain districts, not less than 15 per cent and not more than 20 per cent for livestock-raising and industrial-crop districts), from capital entries for natural increase of livestock, accumulation in construction and means of production undertaken for the needs of the collective farm (including investments of labor by collective farmers),³ from property received free of charge and capital entries for loans written off by decision of the government. The undistributed fund of the collective farms is a most important fund for socialist accumulation in the collective farm economy. In connection with the growth of collective farm incomes, the amount set aside for the undistributed fund per collective farm increased from 3,013 rubles in 1932 to 10,989 rubles in 1939. On the collective farms, social funds are formed annually for basic and emergency supplies of seed and fodder, these being reproduced from the output of the given year. Expanded reproduction requires the expenditure of a part of the net income on the increase of these funds, that is, the application to this purpose of a part of the collective farm accumulation in kind.

Part of the collective farm's net income is put directly at the disposal of the state in monetary form, in the shape of taxes and levies. But this forms an insignificant percentage of the total income. In Tsarist Russia taxes, payments, and rent to landowners took from the peasants an enormous part of their income, whereas under the Soviet power, in 1937, for example, taxes and levies paid by the collective farmers formed only 2.8 per cent of the total income from the commonly owned

³ Part of the surplus labor of the collective farmers is directly realized by socialist accumulation in the form of labor investments, in the creation of farm buildings, irrigation works, etc.

farm, the personal subsidiary establishments, and from the work performed by collective farmers outside the collective. The interest paid by collective farms to the state on credits granted by the state did not exceed 0.5 per cent of their monetary income.

By decision of the general assembly, from the collective farm income (surplus product) a fund is formed for aid to invalids, old people, those temporarily incapacitated for work, and needy families of Red Army men, and also for the support of nurseries and orphans, at a rate not exceeding 2 per cent of gross output. This fund is created from the output of plant and livestock raising. Beginning in 1940 collective farms have organized an emergency food fund amounting to 2 per cent of the gross yield of food crops. Collective farms also set aside means for cultural requirements.

The basic source of the personal income of collective farmers is their labor on the commonly owned, collective farm. Collective farmers also receive income from their personal subsidiary establishments. Payment for work on collective farms is made on the basis of the socialist principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work. Collective farmers receive incomes in kind and in money according to work-days. On collective farms additional payments are made for raising the harvest yield of agricultural crops and increasing productivity in livestock breeding. For example, for overfulfilling the planned yield in grain crops, collective farmers receive 25 per cent of the amount of the yield that is above plan, distributing it in addition to the basic pay according to work-days performed by the collective farmers in a brigade or team.

Thus the income distributed according to work-days includes not only the necessary labor of the collective farmers, but also part of the surplus labor, which is applied to expansion of the personal consumption of the collective farmers.

A most important attribute of collective farm output is its high marketability, which is of great significance both for the collective farms and for supplying the city population and the Red Army with food and industry with raw materials.

The higher the relative share of commodity output in the composition of gross output, the higher the monetary income of the collective farms and collective farmers. Total monetary receipts of collective farms grow from year to year. On the average per collective the increase was from 21.7 thousand rubles in 1932 to 76.9 thousand rubles in 1939.

The size of collective farm incomes in kind and in money varies, depending on diverse economic and natural conditions. Taking land areas of similar dimensions, it depends, in the first place, on additional investments of means of production and labor; in the second place, on the proximity of collectives to the markets, railroads, and waterways and also on the varying fertility of the land belts occupied by the collectives. Accordingly, with varying conditions of labor productivity, collective farms obtain from land tracts of similar size different quantities of output and—other things being equal—different quantities of surplus product. Thus there is created a diversity of collective farm incomes *in kind*.

Varying conditions of labor productivity result in dissimilar expenditures of labor per unit of output. For instance, the value of a centner of wheat varies, depending on whether it was produced at a higher or lower level of mechanization, with the application of one or another agrotechnical measure, on black-earth or podzol soil (which require different amounts of fertilizer), in a sufficiently moist or in a dry region, etc. But to the extent that collective farms realize their output through sales-deliveries to the state or by trade on the collective farm market, to this extent all the centners of wheat, produced under varying conditions of labor productivity, are realized at a uniform state price or at a uniform price on the collective farm market. In both cases agricultural products of varying individual value are realized at a standard price.

The identity of prices on commodities of the same type, produced with varying expenditures of labor, results in the fact that those collective farms that utilize their land in the most productive way, or have land that is more fertile or are situated nearer to the markets, take in *monetary* receipts of varying amounts.

The additional income becomes differential rent, which appears in natural and monetary form. Collective farm differential rent in kind is a part of the surplus product of those collective farmers who utilize the land most productively or work on the better tracts of land. With respect to value, differential rent is the difference between the value of collective farm agricultural products produced under the better economic and natural conditions and the social value of the same products.

The differential monetary rent that is actually realized by collective farms is tied in with price formation. Price formation in the Soviet economy differs radically from price formation under capitalism. Instead of the spontaneous formation of prices that is characteristic of

capitalism, the prices of commodities of Soviet enterprises are established by the Soviet state in a planned manner, or are economically regulated by the state, as is the case with respect to prices on the collective farm market.

The Soviet state consciously makes use of the law of value in so distributing the national income as to secure a more rapid development of the production of means of production in comparison with means of consumption. Socialist accumulation must secure the development and strengthening of large-scale, socialist industry as the basis of socialism and the growth of the military might of the Soviet state. Socialist industry has secured the technical reconstruction of agriculture and has created in our country the world's highest level of mechanization in agricultural production; this was the basis of the rapid rise of collective farm production and the raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the collective farm peasantry. The collective farm peasantry is vitally interested in strengthening the defense capacity and guaranteeing the independence of the USSR, in the growth of socialist industry, in the expansion of the state's material potentialities for carrying out the complex mechanization of agriculture, in the development of education and public health care.

State-planned prices of agricultural products, by guaranteeing the material participation of the collective farm peasantry in the solution of nationwide tasks, correctly combine the interests of the state, the collective farms, and the collective farmers in the goal of strengthening the economic might of the Soviet state.

In establishing planned agricultural prices, the state uses, as a starting point, the expenditure of social labor on the production of a given product, while bearing in mind that the prices must secure not only the participation of the collectives in state-wide expenses, but also the economic profitableness of the cultivation of the given crop for the collective itself. Otherwise the development of all aspects of collective farm production could not be secured.

The level of state storage prices cannot be viewed apart from the system of commoditization [*otovarovanie*], of enabling collective farms and collective farmers in their turn to purchase commodities at fixed state prices. Planned state storage and purchase prices are countered by a mass of commodities bought by collective farms and collective farmers from the state at fixed sales prices. This has considerable significance for the increase of accumulation in collective farms and for the growth of the well-being of the collective farmers.

The Soviet state to a large extent stimulates the development of collective farm production of agricultural crops especially required for the national economy by distributing bonus increases on state storage prices for output above plan. A typical example is provided by the bonus increases on state cotton prices, securing a rapid rise in the production of this crop, which is of great economic and defense importance.

In connection with the formation of monetary differential rent, it is necessary to keep in mind another mechanism of agricultural price formation as distinguished from industrial prices. That is, that the area of more fertile lands is limited, and in addition to the better lands, it is necessary to work the less fertile lands, which, all other things being equal, yield a relatively low harvest. Prices cannot therefore be based on production conditions on the better land tracts; they must secure normal economic development and expanded reproduction on collective farms where conditions of production are less favorable for a certain zone or belt. However, conditions of development in a socialist economy are in this respect radically different from conditions in a capitalist economy. There are for us no *social* obstacles to the utilization of land: for example, the state grants the collectives idle lands; a collective may, according to existing law, work idle lands of another collective with the latter's consent; through the machine-tractor stations the state gives organizational-economic and material-production assistance to collectives that have the most difficult conditions of production, for instance by providing them with traction power, and thus makes it possible to diminish the expenditures of social labor under the very worst conditions of production. All this radically alters in our case the role played by limited land area and inferior conditions of production in the formation of prices on agricultural products.

Further, in Soviet economy the law of prices of production does not exist. The development of collective and state farms does not depend on the receipt of average profit, without which it is impossible for a capitalist to cultivate land. Under socialism the bringing under cultivation of new lands, even though they are less fertile, does not lead to a rise in prices. The state aids collective farms financially (through credits) and materially (through investments of state-owned means of production) so as to increase land fertility or to bring better lands under cultivation in recently settled districts. Given such conditions, socialist agricultural enterprises in mastering production in new districts simultaneously heighten their own profitableness.

Such are the fundamental principles of the formation of planned prices in socialist agriculture.

Prices on the collective farm market are formed somewhat differently. They are not established in a planned way. The state regulates collective farm market prices by putting into effect a series of economic measures. Under wartime conditions the state regulates collective farm market prices by such economic measures as a centralized food supply at fixed state prices through the rationing system, the introduction of commercial trade, the development of individual vegetable gardening by the workers.

Price formation in socialist agriculture has the following result: that agricultural products produced under different conditions of labor productivity, that is, with a varying value, are realized at a state storage or purchase price uniform for a given district, or at a uniform collective farm market price. Consequently, collective farms whose output is produced at a lower value receive an additional income, which, because of the nature of its origin, is differential monetary rent.

Collective farm differential rent represents a part of the net income in its natural or monetary form. It is utilized for expanded socialist reproduction on the commonly owned farm and for improvement of the living standard of the collective farm peasantry, and part of it is put at the disposal of the state and applied to the development of industry, reinforcement of the technical equipment of agriculture, strengthening of the country's defenses, and cultural upbuilding. From a source of enrichment to the class of landowners, differential rent has been converted into a source of strengthening the economic might of the Soviet state and enhancing the well-being and cultural life of the collective farm peasantry.

Collective farm differential rent is tied in with the nature of collective farm-cooperative property as one of the forms of common socialist property. The nationalized land—a nationwide possession—is utilized by the collective farm peasantry through the individual collectives. Instead of capitalist monopoly in land as an economic phenomenon that enriches capitalist-renters, we have the securing of land to the collective farms, for their free use in perpetuity, which promotes growth of the commonly owned wealth of the collective farms and improvement of the welfare of the collective farmers. In this lies the special social and economic nature of collective farm differential rent.

In state-owned enterprises concerned with the exploitation of land tracts (state farms, coal and ore mines, etc.) the whole output and all profits are state property, that is, nationwide possessions, and are utilized *directly* in the interests of society as a whole. Additional profit

that may be made by these enterprises, granted a uniform price for commodities of the same type, as a result of advantages of one kind or another (greater soil fertility or better land tracts, richer coal and ore deposits, and so forth), by virtue of its economic nature also bears the character of differential rent. But it is distinct from the differential rent of collective farms. This distinction is determined by the special nature of state property as compared with collective farm-cooperative property.

Nationalization of the land, carried out by the October Socialist Revolution, abolished absolute land rent, and the creation of a socialist system of agriculture led to the fundamental transformation of differential rent in the USSR.

The fundamental distinction of the Soviet socialist system from capitalism consists in the fact that in Soviet socialist society all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man have been abolished. In conformity with the above, the basic distinction between differential rent under socialism and differential rent under capitalism is as follows:

In the first place, differential rent is not a part of surplus value; that is, it is not the fruit of exploitation of the labor of others, but represents the result of the surplus product created by the collective labor of collective farmers who have been freed from exploitation and who work with the aid of means of production belonging to the collective farms and the state.

In the second place, differential rent does not go to the parasitic consumption of landed proprietors and is not appropriated in the form of excess profit by capitalist-renters; it falls to the collective farms and collective farmers and is used for the development of the commonly owned farm, for the improvement of their material situation, and part of it is put at the state's disposal.

In the third place, differential rent does not appear as rent on land, since land is secured to the collective farms, according to the Constitution of the USSR, for their free use in perpetuity.

In the fourth place, the formation of differential rent takes place, not on the basis of spontaneous price formation, but on the basis of state planned prices or collective farm market prices, which are regulated economically by the state.

In the fifth place, differential rent is not a surplus over average profit, since for us the law of prices of production does not exist, but appears as a form of *additional* net income of collective farms that work under more favorable conditions or make more productive use of the land

secured for their use in perpetuity.

Collective farm differential rent thus reflects the production relationships of socialist society.

Marx connected the abolition of differential rent with the abolition not only of capitalist production but also of price as a category of commodity economy. For this reason, Marx did not undertake, and could not have undertaken an exhaustive analysis of the transformation of certain categories of commodity economy in the first phase of communist society. For Marx theory was always the result of investigation of facts, their generalization.

Comrade Stalin, who has brilliantly generalized the rich practical experience of the building of socialism, teaches us that several categories of commodity economy exist under socialism in a transformed state. To such categories, along with commodity, value, market, price, etc., differential rent also belongs.

IV. Intensification of collective farm agriculture and forms of differential rent

At the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan, at the suggestion of Comrade Stalin, the party passed from the wholesale expansion of sown areas to the struggle to raise the harvest yield as the central task of agriculture. The development of collective farm agriculture began to be characterized by a rapid growth of technical equipment and an improvement in farming techniques. The factor that was becoming more and more decisive in the varying level of harvest yield was not the natural fertility of the soil, but the fertility obtained by utilizing the most modern technique, the data of advanced science, by universal intensification of farming. The mounting incomes of the collective farms began to be accounted for primarily by higher productivity through additional investments of means of production and labor in the same land area. Intensification of agriculture is the basic principle in developing collective farm production and increasing collective farm income.

Highly intensified farming is characterized, as is known, by the large-scale investment of means of production, expressed in the value of machines, fertilizers applied, cattle, etc., in the same land area. In this connection one must observe the profound fundamental difference in intensification of capitalist and socialist agriculture.

"All progress in capitalist agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the laborer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing

the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress towards ruining the lasting sources of that fertility." (K. Marx, *Kapital*, Russ. ed., 1937, p. 553 [Eng. ed., New York, International, 1939, p. 514].)

The collective farms, MTS, and the state farms, working on nationalized land, with the basic means of production concentrated in the hands of the socialist state, have unlimited opportunities for the development and, hence, for the intensification of farming. Commonly owned, socialist property and socialist forms of organization and payment of labor provide opportunity for the limitless development of the productive forces of socialist agriculture.

A major role in the intensification of agriculture in the USSR is played by state investments in mechanization, fertilizers, irrigation system, in the purchase and breeding of pedigreed thoroughbred cattle. Basic production funds of socialist agricultural enterprises increased during the years 1929-1938 from 1,672.6 million rubles to 30,568.2 million rubles. Of the energy resources of agriculture, mechanical power constituted nearly 70 per cent in 1938 as against 4 per cent in 1928. The amount of mineral fertilizers supplied to agriculture grew from 234.1 thousand tons⁴ in 1928 to 3,216.3 thousand tons in 1938. On the peasant farms of Tsarist Russia, for every hectare sown there was only 6 rubles' worth of agricultural machinery and equipment. The basic implements of labor were wooden plows, scythes and harrows. On the collective farms, for every hectare sown in 1938 there were combines, tractors, automobiles, and other agricultural machines worth 58 rubles, and on the state farms 122 rubles.

Besides full utilization of the tractors, combines, and agricultural machinery of the MTS, the collective farms must increase their own means of production, animal draft power, and make the most productive use of them.

The enormous influence of the high degree of saturation in means of production on the growth of the harvest yield and the profitableness of the collective farms is shown by the data for nine territories [*krais*], and regions [*oblasts*] surveyed in the pre-war period. [See Table One.] Mechanization and technical agronomy vary in the group of collectives analyzed. Characteristically, on the advanced collectives 30 per cent more labor is expended per hectare of grain crops sown but this raises the harvest yield 238 per cent, while expenditure of labor per centner of grain is reduced almost one-half. The advanced collectives thus

⁴ Metric tons. For English equivalents of terms for weights and measures used in this article, see note at the end of the article—*transl.*

TABLE ONE: *Influence of Mechanization and Technical Agronomy on Harvest Yield and Income of Collective Farms [Nine territories and regions.]*

	370 collectives surveyed	45 advanced collectives
<i>Indexes of Mechanization and Technical Agronomy as % of Area</i>		
1. Plowing with tractor draft.....	75.2	88.0
2. Sowing of winter wheat in fallow fields....	54.7	79.1
3. Cultivation, re-plowing, and harrowing of fallow fields for winter wheat.....	124.4	286.8
4. Sowing of summer wheat on fall tillage.....	65.3	88.7
5. Cultivation, re-plowing, and harrowing of fall and spring tillage.....	60.8	120.9
6. Fertilization of area sown to winter and sum- mer wheat.....	4.5	53.2
7. Weeding of winter and summer wheat.....	51.8	139.2
<i>Harvest Yield and Labor Expenditure</i>		
1. Harvesting of grain crop (centners per hectare)	10.1	23.8
2. Labor expenditure per hectare of sown grain crops (man-days).....	10.02	13.09
3. Labor expenditure per centner of grain (man- days)96	.55
<i>Distribution of Grain and Money by Work-Days (per collective farm household)</i>		
1. Grain (centners).....	20.2	40.3
2. Money (rubles).....	368.7	887.5

carry on more intensive grain farming. Hence, they take in additional natural and monetary income, which results in the growth of the personal incomes of the collective farmers by work-days. The remittance in grain per household of the advanced group is twice as large, and the remittance in money nearly two and a half times as large as that for the other farms.

The development of all aspects of farming has enormous significance for the increase in profitableness of collective farms. Development of all aspects of farming permits the fullest utilization of available labor power throughout the agricultural year, the increase in marketability of agricultural produce, the supplying of the cities and the Red Army with food and industry with raw materials, and raises the material and cultural living standard of the collective farmers.

During the Patriotic War the collective farmers, men and women, in response to Comrade Stalin's appeal—to work without let-up—have greatly raised labor productivity compared with peacetime, and so have

provided the front and the country with additional resources of food and raw materials.

During the Patriotic War several advanced regions, territories and republics have achieved rises in harvest yield and increases in the number of head of cattle. The Kalinin Region may serve as a typical example, despite the fact that its economy was destroyed by the German invaders. It began to revive quickly after liberation: in 1943 the yield of grain crops in the region was 12.9 centners per hectare as against 11.8 centners per hectare in 1940. The flax-fiber yield reached 4 centners per hectare as against 3.1 in the prewar period. On the average, each collective farm has 25.6 head of socialized cattle as against the 23.9 head it had before the war. The collective farms in the Kalinin Region fulfilled their obligations to the state ahead of time. In 1943 these collective farmers sold to the state more than 4.5 million poods of grain from their personal stocks.

The dependence of the collective farm income level on the development of farming in all its aspects can be traced in any district. Take, for example, the suburban collectives in Moscow Region. [See Table Two.] Collectives grouped according to low, middle, and high harvest yield receive nearly the same amount of service from the MTS. But the expenditure of means of production and labor varies, as does also the composition of cultivation. Hence, in the high group gross income and monetary income per 100⁵ hectares of tillage are approximately three times greater than in the low group. Characteristically, with a 1.8-fold increase of labor expenditure per hectare of tillage, gross and monetary income per ablebodied laborer participating in the work of the collective showed a more than twofold increase.

With the growth of income from the commonly owned farm, sales deliveries of agricultural products to the state increase, as do natural and monetary remittances by work-days. Accordingly, the rise in intensification of collective farm agriculture fully corresponds to the interests of the state, the collective farms, and the collective farmers.

Numerous data testify to the fact that additional investments of means of production and labor in the same land area, combined with a rational system of farming, are accompanied by an increase of gross output and profitableness. Accordingly, the higher the productivity of labor on collective farms, the greater the additional income received by collective farmers for developing their commonly owned farm and the larger the natural and monetary funds for distribution by work-days.

⁵ Possibly a misprint for 1; see Table Two—*transl.*

This plainly refutes bourgeois prejudices about the "law of diminishing fertility," "falling productivity of labor," "falling profitableness," etc.

Additional natural and monetary collective farm income, received as a result of repeated investments of means of production and labor in the same land area, forms differential rent II.

The trend of agricultural production and the level of profitableness of collective farms are greatly influenced by the proximity of the farms to railroads, waterways, storage points, and markets.

The varying level of profitableness in this case is also conditioned by different degrees of intensification of farming. Additional natural

TABLE TWO: *Agricultural Intensification and Income Level of Collective Farms and Collective Farmers [Moscow Region.]*

<i>Indexes</i>	<i>Collectives grouped according to harvest yield</i>		
	Low	Middle	High
Work of the MTS as % of the volume of work on collective farms.....	48	52	47
Basic means of production per hectare of tillage (rubles)	697	931	1,753
Expenditure of work-days per hectare of tillage	92	116	172
Composition of sown areas in % of total			
grain crops	46	39	30
potatoes	18	19	20
vegetables	6	7	11
fodder crops	30	35	39
Head of cattle in terms of number of big-horned cattle per 100 hectares of land.....	16	17	25
Harvest yield (centners per hectare)			
grain crops.....	8.3	12.1	16.9
potatoes	127	123	156
vegetables	40	50	77
Qualitative indexes of livestock raising (kilograms)			
milk	1,553	1,664	1,791
wool shearings.....	1.6	1.8	3.2
Gross income (rubles)			
per hectare of tillage.....	640	976	1,897
per ablebodied laborer.....	1,502	2,125	3,111
Monetary income (rubles)			
per hectare of tillage.....	558	945	1,687
per ablebodied laborer.....	1,311	2,058	2,768
Remittance per work-day			
money (rubles).....	1.05	1.75	3.25
grain (kilograms).....	0.6	1.0	1.1
potatoes (kilograms).....	8.78	8.57	9.76
vegetables (kilograms).....	0.6	0.8	1.6
Delivered (sold) to the state per hectare of tillage (rubles)	60	77	110

and monetary incomes may be classified as the second form of differential rent in so far as they are bound up with the increasing role of additional means of production and labor. However, the incomes of collective farms situated at different distances from railroads and cities differ also in consequence of the fact that farms near railroad stations and urban markets have obvious economic advantages over remote farms, since they expend less means of production and labor on the transportation of products.

Taking into consideration the location of collective farms, the Soviet state, in addition to the state price, allows for haulage on collective farm carriers, depending on the distance. In view of all this, collectives nearer railroads and cities receive differential rent I, particularly from the realization of products on the urban collective farm markets.

The first form of differential rent on collective farms arises also in consequence of variations in the natural fertility of the lands secured to the collectives. Given a uniform level of mechanization and expenditure of labor, given the same farming system and level of organizational-economic activity, with land tracts of equal size, higher yields are obtained on black-earth soils or in districts where moisture is adequate in comparison with clayey soils or even with black-earth soils in dry districts. Collective farms that have received more fertile lands produce, all other things being equal, a greater quantity of surplus product. In realizing this they receive the difference between value and price in the form of additional monetary income. Thus arises, in natural and monetary form, differential rent I, which is received without additional investments of means of production and labor.

The economic policy of the party and the government is based on scientific calculation of the income peculiarities in socialist agriculture and of the sources of income formation. The policy with regard to storage acquisitions and purchases of agricultural products and to the method of calculating payment in kind for the work of the MTS, and also the tax policy of the Soviet state, have as their starting point the calculation of the sources and forms of collective farm income. The *per hectare* principle of compulsory deliveries (which have the force of a tax), established in 1940, secured the most favorable conditions for the development of the commonly owned farm in all its aspects and the growth of the common incomes of the collective farms and the personal incomes of the collective farmers. Changes in the policy with regard to storage acquisitions and purchases of agricultural products were dictated by the fact that the previous method of calculation, on

the basis of the sowing plan and the number of head of commonly owned cattle, had become antiquated and was preventing the further growth and strengthening of the common collective farm. The previous system of storage acquisitions put advanced collectives at a disadvantage, whereas farms that were lagging behind were granted privileged conditions. With the per hectare principle of compulsory deliveries to the state, collectives that make the most productive use of the land secured to them have full opportunity to receive additional natural and monetary incomes and to utilize these for the development of the commonly owned farm and for improvement of the material welfare of the collective farmers. In this way were created new stimuli for the development of the commonly owned collective farm, and an interest in expanding sown areas and raising the yield of agricultural crops, in increasing the number of head of cattle on collective livestock ranches producing for sale and in raising cattle productivity. The per hectare principle of storage acquisitions and purchases of agricultural products was most successful in combining the interests of the state, the collective farms, and the collective farmers.

Through payments in kind, state deliveries and taxes, the Soviet state converts to nationwide requirements only a part of collective farm differential rent. The differential rent received on collective farms is for the most part utilized for purposes of expanded socialist reproduction and raising the material and cultural living standard of the collective farm peasantry. Therein lies one of the most important advantages of the socialist over the capitalist system of agriculture, since under the latter differential rent is appropriated by the landowners.

Collective farms with a higher net income secure a greater remittance in kind and in money per work-day. This means that part of collective farm differential rent goes to the collective farmers for their personal disposal in the distribution of collective farm incomes.

The incomes of collective farmers from personal subsidiary establishments also vary depending on the natural fertility of the soil, proximity to markets, the degree of intensiveness in the utilization of the plots of land around their houses. A certain part of the output of their personal subsidiary establishments the collective farmers turn over to the state as compulsory deliveries by a sale of the state storage-acquisition type, and they also sell on the collective farm market. The highest incomes from personal subsidiary establishments are received by collective farmers in the neighborhood of large urban centers, whose population provides a big demand for truck and livestock products.

For example, according to budget data, incomes from the personal establishments of collective farmers in Moscow Region are three to four times higher than in the Kirov Region; furthermore, within each region and even county [*raion*], the profitableness of the personal establishment varies depending on proximity to an urban market. The additional incomes received by collective farmers from personal establishments also form *differential rent*, the magnitude of which is strongly influenced by the price level of the urban collective farm market.

The differential rent realized by the collectives from the commonly owned farms is bound up with common socialist property in the means of production. The differential rent received by the collective farmers from personal subsidiary establishments is bound up with the personal property of the collective farmers. It must be emphasized that labor on the common collective farm is the basic source of income and well-being of the collective farm peasantry. Therefore the collective farm peasantry is deeply interested in the development of collective farm production in all its aspects.

The agricultural tax law is intended to secure the all-round development of the commonly owned artel farm and to prevent excessive expansion of the personal subsidiary establishment. According to this law, *incomes of collective farmers from the commonly owned farm are not subject to any taxes*. The size of the taxable income from personal subsidiary establishments is fixed according to republics, which in their turn are given the right to determine the size of the taxable income taking into account the peculiarities of individual districts. Thus, for purposes of strengthening and further developing the commonly owned farm, part of the differential rent from the personal subsidiary establishments of the collective farmers is diverted to nationwide requirements by the Soviet state through the compulsory deliveries and the agricultural tax.

The collective farm system secures for the Soviet peasantry all the conditions for the unlimited growth of labor productivity and the elevation of material welfare.

The patriotic ardor of the collective farm peasantry in the war for the defense of the fatherland against the German invaders, the self-sacrificing labor on collective farm production and the multiform nationwide assistance to the front—providing for the outfitting of tank columns and aviation squadrons, assistance by districts in the rear to the liberated districts, the stream of rich gifts to the front—constitute a shining confirmation of the strength and vitality of the collective farm system.

Translators' Note. The following are equivalents for the terms for weights and measures used in this article: *hectare*, 2.47 acres; *kilogram*, 2.21 pounds avoirdupois; *pood*, 36.07 pounds avoirdupois; *centner*, 100 kilograms; *ton*, 1,000 kilograms.

DOCUMENTS

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND FRANCE

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, determined to prosecute jointly and to the end the war against Germany, convinced that once victory is achieved, the reestablishment of peace on a stable basis and its prolonged maintenance in the future will be conditioned upon the existence of close collaboration between them and with all the United Nations; having resolved to collaborate in the cause of the creation of an international system of security for the effective maintenance of general peace and for insuring the harmonious development of relations between nations; desirous of confirming the mutual obligations resulting from the exchange of letters of September 20, 1941, concerning joint actions in the war against Germany; convinced that the conclusion of an alliance between the USSR and France corresponds to the sentiments and interests of both peoples, the demands of war, and the requirements of peace and economic reconstruction in full conformity with the aims which the United Nations have set themselves, have decided to conclude a Treaty to this effect and appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR;

The Provisional Government of the French Republic—Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Who after exchange of their credentials, found in due form, agreed upon the following:

Article I

Each of the high contracting parties shall continue the struggle on the side of the other party and on the side of the United Nations until final victory over Germany. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to render the other party aid and assistance in this struggle with all the means at its disposal.

Article II

The high contracting parties shall not agree to enter into separate negotiations with Germany or to conclude without mutual consent any armistice or peace treaty either with the Hitler government or with any other government or authority set up in Germany for the purpose of the continuation or support of the policy of German aggression.

Article III

The high contracting parties undertake also, after the termination of the present war with Germany, to take jointly all necessary measures for the elimination of any new threat coming from Germany, and to obstruct such actions as would make possible any new attempts at aggression on her part.

Article IV

In the event either of the high contracting parties finds itself involved in military

operations against Germany, whether as a result of aggression committed by the latter or as a result of the operation of the above Article III, the other party shall at once render it every aid and assistance within its power.

Article V

The high contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against either of the high contracting parties.

Article VI

The high contracting parties agree to render each other every possible economic assistance after the war, with a view to facilitating and accelerating reconstruction of both countries, and in order to contribute to the cause of world prosperity.

Article VII

The present treaty does not in any way affect obligations undertaken previously by the high contracting parties in regard to third states in virtue of published treaties.

Article VIII

The present treaty, whose Russian and French texts are equally valid, shall be ratified and ratification instruments shall be exchanged in Paris as early as possible. It comes into force from the moment of the exchange of ratification instruments and shall be valid for 20 years. If the treaty is not denounced by either of the high contracting parties at least one year before the expiration of this term, it shall remain valid for an unlimited time; each of the contracting parties will be able to terminate its operation by giving notice to that effect one year in advance.

In confirmation of which, the above plenipotentiaries signed the present treaty and affixed their seals to it.

Done in Moscow in two copies, December 10, 1944.

On the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

MOLOTOV

On the authorization of the Provisional Government of the French Republic

BIDAULT

ARMISTICE TERMS FOR HUNGARY

Agreement Concerning an Armistice Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and The United States of America on the One Hand, and Hungary on the Other

The Provisional National Government of Hungary, recognizing the fact of the defeat of Hungary in the war against the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and other United Nations, accepts the armistice terms presented by the Governments of the above-mentioned three powers, acting on behalf of all the United Nations which are in a state of war with Hungary.

On the basis of the foregoing the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, Marshal of the Soviet Union K. E. Voroshilov, duly authorized thereto by the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, acting on behalf of all the United Nations which are at war

with Hungary, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Provisional National Government of Hungary, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Janos Gyongyosi, Colonel General Janos Voros, and State Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers, Mr. Istvan Balogh, on the other, holding proper full powers, have signed the following conditions:

I (A) Hungary has withdrawn from the war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other United Nations, including Czechoslovakia, has severed all relations with Germany and has declared war on Germany.

(B) The Government of Hungary undertakes to disarm the German armed forces in Hungary and to hand them over as prisoners of war.

The Government of Hungary also undertakes to intern nationals of Germany.

(C) The Government of Hungary undertakes to maintain and make available such land, sea and air forces as may be specified for service under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command. In this connection Hungary will provide not less than eight infantry divisions with corps troops. These forces must not be used on Allied territory except with the prior consent of the Allied Government concerned.

(D) On the conclusion of hostilities against Germany, the Hungarian armed forces must be demobilized and put on a peace footing under the supervision of the Allied Control Commission. (See Annex to Article I)

II. Hungary has accepted the obligation to evacuate all Hungarian troops and officials from the territory of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania occupied by her within the limits of the frontiers of Hungary existing on December 31, 1937, and also to repeal all legislative and administrative provisions relating to the annexation or incorporation into Hungary of Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Rumanian territory.

III. The Government and High Command of Hungary will ensure to the Soviet and other Allied forces facilities for the free movement on Hungarian territory in any direction if, in the opinion of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, the military situation requires this, the Government and High Command of Hungary giving such movement every possible assistance with their own means of communication and at their own expense on land, on the water and in the air. (See Annex to Article III)

IV. The Government of Hungary will immediately release all Allied prisoners of war and internees. Pending further instructions the Government of Hungary will at its own expense provide all Allied prisoners of war and internees, displaced persons and refugees, including nationals of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, with adequate food, clothing, medical services, and sanitary and hygienic requirements, and also with means of transportation for the return of any such persons to their own country.

V. The Government of Hungary will immediately release, regardless of citizenship and nationality, all persons held in confinement in connection with their activities in favor of the United Nations or because of their sympathies with the United Nations' cause or for racial or religious reasons, and will repeal all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom.

The Government of Hungary will take all the necessary measures to ensure that all displaced persons and refugees within the limits of Hungarian territory, includ-

ing Jews and stateless persons, are accorded at least the same measure of protection and security as its own nationals.

VI. The Government of Hungary undertakes to return to the Soviet Union, and also to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and to the other United Nations, by the dates specified by the Allied Control Commission, and in complete good order, all valuables and materials removed during the war to Hungary from the United Nations' territory and belonging to state, public or cooperative organizations, enterprises, institutions or individual citizens, such as factory and works equipment, locomotives, rolling stock, tractors, motor vehicles, historic monuments, museum treasures and any other property.

VII. The Government and High Command of Hungary undertake to hand over as booty into the hands of the Allied (Soviet) High Command all German war material located on Hungarian territory, including vessels of the fleet of Germany.

VIII. The Government and High Command of Hungary undertake not to permit, without the authorization of the Allied Control Commission, the export or expropriation of any form of property (including valuables and currency) belonging to Germany or her nationals or to persons resident in German territory or in territories occupied by Germany. They will safeguard such property in the manner specified by the Allied Control Commission.

IX. The Government and High Command of Hungary undertake to hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all vessels belonging to or having belonged to the United Nations which are located in Hungarian Danubian ports, no matter at whose disposal these vessels may be, for use during the period of the war against Germany by the Allied (Soviet) High Command in the general interests of the Allies, these vessels subsequently to be returned to their owners.

The Government of Hungary will bear full material responsibility for any damage or destruction of the aforementioned property until the moment of its transfer to the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

X. Hungarian merchant vessels, whether in Hungarian or foreign waters, shall be subject to the operational control of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for use in the general interests of the Allies.

XI. The Government of Hungary will make regular payments in Hungarian currency and provide commodities (fuel, foodstuffs, et cetera), facilities and services as may be required by the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the fulfillment of its functions as well as for the needs of missions and representatives of the Allied states connected with the Allied Control Commission.

The Government of Hungary will also assure, in case of need, the use and regulation of the work of industrial and transport enterprises, means of communication, power stations, enterprises and installations of public utility, stores of fuel and other material, in accordance with instructions issued during the armistice by the Allied (Soviet) High Command or the Allied Control Commission. (See Annex to Article XI)

XII. Losses caused to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia by military operations and by the occupation by Hungary of the territories of these states will be made good by Hungary to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but taking into consideration that Hungary has not only withdrawn

from the war against the United Nations but has declared war against Germany, the parties agree that compensation for the indicated losses will be made by Hungary not in full but only in part; namely, to the amount of 300,000,000 American dollars payable over six years in commodities (machine equipment, river craft, grain, livestock, et cetera), the sum to be paid to the Soviet Union to amount to 200,000,000 American dollars and the sum to be paid to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to amount to 100,000,000 American dollars.

Compensation will be paid by Hungary for loss and damage caused by the war to other Allied states and their nationals, the amount of compensation to be fixed at a later date. (See Annex to Article XII)

XIII. The Government of Hungary undertakes to restore all legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals on Hungarian territory as they existed before the war and also to return their property in complete good order.

XIV. Hungary will cooperate in the apprehension and trial, as well as the surrender to the Governments concerned, of persons accused of war crimes.

XV. The Government of Hungary undertakes to dissolve immediately all pro-Hitler or other fascist political, military, para-military and other organizations on Hungarian territory conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations and not to tolerate the existence of such organizations in the future.

XVI. The publication, introduction and distribution in Hungary of periodical or non-periodical literature, the presentation of theatrical performances or films, the operation of wireless stations, post, telegraph and telephone services will take place in agreement with the Allied (Soviet) High Command. (See Annex to Article XVI)

XVII. Hungarian civil administration will be restored in the whole area of Hungary separated by not less than 50-100 kilometers (depending upon conditions of terrain) from the front line, Hungarian administrative bodies undertaking to carry out, in the interests of the reestablishment of peace and security, instructions and orders of the Allied (Soviet) High Command or Allied Control Commission issued by them for the purpose of securing the execution of these armistice terms.

XVIII. For the whole of the period of the armistice there will be established in Hungary an Allied Control Commission which will regulate and supervise the execution of the armistice terms under the chairmanship of the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command and with the participation of representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States.

During the period between the coming into force of the armistice and the conclusion of hostilities against Germany, the Allied Control Commission will be under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command. (See Annex to Article XVIII)

XIX. The Vienna Arbitration Award of November 2, 1938 and the Vienna Award of August 30, 1940 are hereby declared to be null and void.

XX. The present terms come into force at the moment of their signing.

Done in Moscow, 20th January, 1945, in one copy which will be entrusted to the safekeeping of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the Russian, English and Hungarian languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.

Certified copies of the present agreement, with Annexes, will be transmitted by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to each of the other Governments on whose behalf the present agreement is being signed.

For the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America

Marshal K. E. VOROSHILOV.

For the Provisional Government of Hungary:

JANOS GYONGYOSI, COLONEL GENERAL JANOS VOROS, and
ISTVAN BALOGH.

A. Annex to Article I.

The Hungarian Military Command shall hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command within a period fixed by the latter all the information at its disposal regarding the German armed forces and the plans of the German Military Command for the development of military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the other United Nations, and also the charts and maps and all operational documents relating to the military operations of the German armed forces.

The measures provided for in Article I of the agreement regarding the internment of nationals of Germany now in Hungarian territory do not apply to nationals of that country of Jewish origin.

B. Annex to Article III.

The assistance specified in Article III of the agreement shall be taken to mean that the Government and High Command of Hungary will place at the disposal of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, for use at its discretion during the armistice, in complete good order and with the personnel required for their maintenance, all Hungarian military, air and river fleet installations and buildings, ports, barracks, warehouses, airfields, means of communication and meteorological stations which might be required for military needs.

C. Annex to Article XI.

The Government of Hungary will withdraw and redeem within such time limits and on such terms as the Allied (Soviet) High Command may specify, all holdings in Hungarian territory of currencies issued by the Allied (Soviet) High Command, and will hand over currency so withdrawn free of cost to the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

The Government of Hungary will not permit the disposal of external Hungarian assets or the disposal of internal Hungarian assets to foreign Governments or foreign nationals without the permission of the Allied (Soviet) High Command or Allied Control Commission.

D. Annex to Article XII.

The precise nomenclature and varieties of commodities to be delivered by Hungary to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in accordance with Article XII of the agreement and also the more precise periods for making these deliveries each year shall be defined in special agreements between the respective Governments. These deliveries will be calculated at 1938 prices with an increase of 15 percent for industrial equipment and 10 percent for other goods.

As the basis of calculation for payment of the indemnity foreseen in Article XII of the agreement, the American dollar is to be used at its gold parity on the day of signing of the agreement, i.e. 35 dollars to one ounce of gold.

In connection with Article XII it is understood that the Government of Hungary will immediately make available certain food and other supplies required for relief and rehabilitation of the population of those Czechoslovak and Yugoslav territories which have suffered as a result of Hungarian aggression. The quantities of the products to be delivered will be determined by agreement between the three Governments and will be considered as part of the reparation by Hungary for the loss and damage sustained by Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

E. Annex to Article XVI.

The Government of Hungary will ensure that wireless communication, telegraphic and postal correspondence, and correspondence in cipher and by courier, as well as telephonic communication with foreign countries, of Embassies, Legations and Consulates situated in Hungary will be conducted in the manner laid down by the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

F. Annex to Article XVIII.

Control over the exact execution of the armistice terms will be entrusted to the Allied Control Commission to be established in conformity with Article XVIII of the armistice agreement.

The Government of Hungary and its organs shall fulfill all the instructions of the Allied Control Commission arising out of the armistice agreement.

The Allied Control Commission will set up special organs or sections, entrusting them respectively with the execution of various functions. In addition, the Allied Control Commission may have its officers in various parts of Hungary.

The Allied Control Commission will have its seat in the city of Budapest.
Moscow, 20th January, 1945.

PROTOCOL

In signing the armistice agreement with the Government of Hungary, the Allied Governments signatory thereto have agreed as follows:

One. The term "war material" used in Article VII shall be deemed to include all material or equipment belonging to, used by, or intended for use by the military or para-military formations of the enemy or members thereof.

Two. The use by the Allied (Soviet) High Command of Allied vessels handed over by the Government of Hungary in accordance with Article IX of the armistice and the date of their return to their owners will be the subject of discussion and settlement between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Allied Governments concerned.

Done in Moscow in three copies, each in the Russian and English languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic.
January 20, 1945.

(Note: The foregoing Protocol was signed on behalf of the United States Government by Mr. W. Averell Harriman, the American Ambassador.)

NEWS CHRONOLOGY

DECEMBER 1, 1944 to FEBRUARY 28, 1945

Newspapers are named primarily for convenient reference, although the same items may appear in other newspapers. The date given is the date on which the event occurred, while the number in parentheses following the name of the newspaper indicates the date of the paper in which the report appeared. Unless otherwise indicated, the source is *The New York Times*. (N.Y.H.T.—*New York Herald Tribune*; D.W.—*Daily Worker*; E.B.—*Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the U.S.S.R.*; D.S.B.—*Department of State Bulletin*.)

* Full texts in English can be found in source indicated.

These texts are on file in the library of The American Russian Institute.

† For text, refer to Documents section, pp. 49-55.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

ADMINISTRATION, GENERAL

DECEMBER

- 1—Moscow taxis are ordered to resume service, cancelled at the outbreak of war, but pleasure driving is forbidden. (2)
- 2—L. K. Roginsky is replaced by L. F. Ilchev as editor of *Izvestia*. (3)
- 5—The anniversary of the introduction of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 is not observed as a holiday but as a regular work day. (2)
- 5—The Soviet Embassy in Washington reports that Rear Admiral Ivan Papanin, on his 50th birthday, was awarded the Order of Lenin for work in development of the Northern Sea Route.—E.B. (5)
- 5—Appointment of P. I. Rotomskis as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs for the Lithuanian Soviet Republic is announced in a TASS report from Vilna.—N.Y.H.T. (6)
- 6—The Supreme Soviet announces a new medal—"For the Defense of the Arctic"—to honor soldiers, sailors, airmen and civilians for forty months of war heroism in the Far North.—N.Y.H.T. (7)
- 15—It is announced that elections to the Supreme Soviet will be postponed until December, 1945.—N.Y.H.T. (16)
- 21—The sixty-fifth birthday of Premier Joseph Stalin passes without press mention or celebration. (21)
- 21—The Supreme Soviet announces the promotion of Lazar M. Kaganovich from Commissar of Transport to vice-chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, an office equivalent to vice-premiership of the Soviet Union.—D.W. (22)
- 23—The Soviet Embassy in Washington discloses that from the beginning of the war to October 1, 1944, 2,868,962 persons have been awarded Government orders and medals. Among them are 5901 Red Army men who received the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and the Gold Star Medal.—E.B. (23)
- 29—TASS announces the death of Mme. Klavdia Ivanovna Nikolaeva, secretary of the Soviet Council of Trade Unions. She was also a member of the Soviet Supreme

Council and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, and was in the labor delegation to Great Britain in January 1942, when the foundation was laid for the British-Soviet Trade Union Committee.—D.W. (3)

JANUARY

- 25—For death of Konstantin A. Oumansky, see LATIN AMERICA, p. 79.
- 26—It is announced that Col. Gen. Andrei A. Zhdanov has been relieved of his Leningrad responsibilities due to arduous duties as chairman of the Allied Control Commission for Finland and with the All-Union Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. A. A. Kuznetsov replaces him as First Secretary of the Communist Party in Leningrad. (27)
- 27—Marshal Leonid Govorov, who broke the Leningrad siege in 1944, is designated Hero of the Soviet Union by the Supreme Soviet. (28)
- 28—In Moscow, Andrei A. Gromyko, Ambassador to the United States, and Fedor T. Gusev, Ambassador to Great Britain, receive the Order of Lenin (awarded November 4, 1944). (30)
- 30—It is made known that Marshal Semyon Timoshenko has been functioning as one of the top coordinators of the Soviet High Command who synchronize operations of several army groups or fronts, and that he has been awarded the Order of Suvorov, highest military honor.—D.W. (31)

FEBRUARY

- 18—Alexander Nikolaievich Bogolubov, Marshal K. K. Rokossovsky's Chief of Staff, has been promoted from lieutenant-general to colonel-general in recognition of successes in

East Prussia and the Polish Corridor. (19)

- 18—General Ivan D. Cherniakhovsky, 37, dies of a "heavy wound" received on the battlefield in East Prussia. The youngest general and army group commander in the Red Army, Cherniakhovsky was one of Russia's outstanding strategists and the first commander to invade German soil. Funeral rites will take place in Vilna, where a monument will be erected in his honor. (19)
- 19—The ashes of Konstantin Oumansky arrive in Moscow in an American Army airplane. Funeral services take place the following day. (20) (21) See E.B. (30) for text of Molotov statement.
- 22—It is announced that Marshals Semyon Timoshenko, Klementi Voroshilov and Semyon Budenny have been awarded the Order of Lenin for twenty-five years' service in the Red Army.—N.Y.H.T. (23)
- 26—Nine veteran women bomber pilots and navigators have been named Heroes of the Soviet Union, three of them posthumously, Moscow reports. (27)
- 26—Moscow radio reports a violent new volcanic eruption on Kamchatka Peninsula. (27)

CULTURE, SCIENCE

DECEMBER

- 2—Ralph Parker reports the launching of an educational campaign to eradicate the moral and political effects of German occupation, to combat chauvinism and other disruptive doctrines taught by the invader. Biological documentary films, numerous periodicals and pamphlets will be coupled with a simultaneous drive to restore schools.—PM (3)

14—The Moscow press publishes a full-page poem, written in the name of the Ukrainian people and extolling Premier Stalin for their delivery from German rule. (15)

16—A. Ivanov, a musician, and A. Rimsky-Korsakoff, engineer grandson of the great composer, have together developed a new musical instrument, the emirton, covering the entire range of sound that the human ear can detect. (17)

16—On the 20th anniversary of radio broadcasting in the Soviet Union, *Izvestia* asserts that the world's most powerful radio station has been operating in the East since autumn 1942. (17)

21—TASS announces the invention of a new noiseless transport vehicle which operates without trolley, rails or storage batteries (apparently equipped with some kind of induction motor). (21)

JANUARY

11—An increase in the term of study for Soviet medical students from five to six years is announced.—D.W. (12)

15—In Moscow's Bolshoi theater, a memorial meeting is held to mark the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Russian writer and critic, Alexander Griboyedov.—E.B. (27)

FEBRUARY

23—Alexei Tolstoy, 62, noted Russian writer, dies in Moscow. Considered by some critics to be the greatest contemporary writer in the Soviet Union. Tolstoy (no relative of Count Leo Tolstoy) took an increasingly active part in public life beginning in 1938, although he had spent three years in Paris as an émigré after the Revolution. He was a member of the Supreme Soviet and of the Ex-

traordinary State Commission on Nazi atrocities. Among his works are *Road to Calvary* (1919); *Peter the Great* (New York, 1943); *Flames of Paris* (Stalin prize, 1942); and *Passage Through Torment* (Stalin prize, 1943). (24)

ECONOMIC LIFE

DECEMBER

23—The Commissariat of Heavy Machine Industry, appealing in *Izvestia* for further increased output during 1945, reports a one-third increase in 1944 production over the 1943 level. (24)

JANUARY

15—Moscow radio reports 700 tons* of naturally colored cotton will be grown this year, from which 1,000,000 yards of fade-resistant cloth will be woven. Colors developed thus far include green, rose, lemon and brown. (16)

16—Successful termination of the greatest overland cattle drive in history is announced. Starting in May, 1944, 1,000,000 head of cattle, sheep and goats were moved from the interior of the Soviet Union to restock farms in the liberated western areas. This vast movement over 23 routes, totaling 25,000 miles required 25,000 herders (women, children, war invalids), 700 veterinarians and 700 doctors.—N.Y.H.T. (16)

RELIGION

JANUARY

4—*Izvestia* reports a delegation representing Metropolitan Joseph Slepoy of Lwow, Archbishop of the Ruthenian Rite, in conference with Soviet authorities on the legal status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This is believed to be the first time

that a church of the Byzantine Rite in union with the Vatican has sent an official group to Moscow.—*New York Post* (4)

- 31—Feb. 2—The National Assembly of the Russian Orthodox Church meets in Moscow to elect a new Patriarch. Metropolitan Alexei, Acting Patriarch, in the opening address greets more than 160 delegates and guests, who include many world ecclesiastics. Georgi Karpov, head of the Council on Russian Orthodox Church Affairs, addresses the assembly on behalf of the Soviet Government and says it is in sympathy with the Assembly,

which serves to "promote the welfare of the Church in a Socialist land."

On February 2nd, the Council of Bishops, in the most impressive church assembly in Moscow since the revolution, unanimously elects Alexei Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia. He succeeds Sergei, who died in May, 1944, and under whose instructions he served as Acting Patriarch. Two days later, Alexei is crowned Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia amid traditional rites in Bogoyavlensk Cathedral. (1) (2) *N.Y.H.T.* (1) (5) (7) PM (10)¹

MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

DECEMBER

- 26—Climaxing a seven-weeks' siege, the Red Army completes the encirclement of Budapest. (27)

- 30—Soviet troops smash into the streets of Pest, eastern half of the Hungarian capital after the Nazis reject a Soviet ultimatum to surrender and kill two Soviet emissaries carrying terms under flags of truce. (31)

- Stalin discloses Konev has crashed 25 miles through German lines to within 71 miles of industrial southeastern Germany. (14) (16)
- 15—The Red Army captures Kielce. (16)

- 16—Radom is taken by the First White Russian Army under Marshal Zhukov, who struck from two bridgeheads on the west bank of the Vistula south of Warsaw (Jan. 14) and is being assisted by 51 commanding generals. (17)

- 17—Russian and Polish troops capture Warsaw, also Radomsko and Czeszochowa, and reach within 14 miles of the German border. (18)

- 19—In one of the greatest days in Red Army history, it reaches the border of German Silesia, captures Lodz, Cracow and Tarnow, and ham-

JANUARY

- 12—The Red Army opens its greatest winter offensive, beginning in south-central Poland as Marshal Ivan Konev's First Ukrainian Army breaks out of the Sandomierz bridgehead. The same day, General Cherniakhovsky's Third White Russian Army starts a new push into East Prussia. (Two days later the First White Russian Army (Zhukov) and the Second White Russian Army (Rokossovsky) join the attack, as does the Fourth Ukrainian Army (Petrov) on January 15.) Announcing the new drive in an order of the day, Jan. 13, Marshal

1. For the text of the Assembly's message to world Christianity, which appeals for "unexpected blows to finish off the fascist beast" and condemns those who call for "forgiveness for infanticides and traitors," see *E.B.* (13). This same issue reprints from *Izvestia* (Feb. 6) the text of the Assembly's Appeal to Russian Christians, which calls for a growth of religious spirit and condemns clergy and their parishes for neglect of canonical and moral laws. See also under Vatican, Feb. 9.

- mers 31 miles inside East Prussia. (20)
- 20—The Red Army captures Tilsit. Gen. Ivan Petrov's men take Presov, Kosice and Bardejov on a front crossing eastern Slovakia. (21)
- 21—Russian armies capture Tannenberg and Gumbinnen, East Prussia, and Marshal Ivan Konev's First Ukrainian Army invades Germany proper, sweeping 19 miles inside industrial Silesia on a 56-mile front. Although the Red Army has been fighting in East Prussia since Oct. 23, 1944, this marks the first time the Allies have stood on the soil of Germany proper in the east and west simultaneously. The United Press reports that the Russian armies, marching 1,170 miles from Stalingrad in two years, have captured nearly 22,000 square miles of enemy-held territory in the ten-day offensive in Poland, East Prussia and Czechoslovakia. (22)
- 23—Moscow reports Russian troops driving due west of Warsaw have reached to within 150 miles from Berlin, halfway between the German capital and the jumping-off place of their offensive. Interburg, Allenstein and Gniezno are taken. (28)
- 23—Marshal Konev's army reaches the River Oder on a 37-mile front near Breslau. (24)
- 24—The Red Army captures Oppeln, German Upper Silesia; Kalisz and Rawica, Poland. (25)
- 25—General Dwight D. Eisenhower has "just established contact with Marshal Stalin," according to a National Broadcasting Company report to the United States from western Europe.
- In Washington, Major General Nathan Twining, commander of the Fifteenth Air Force in Italy, states that his planes have been giving as much support to Russian ground forces as to Allied troops in Italy, and that since April, 1944, the Fifteenth has coordinated attacks with Soviet operations and made several raids at Soviet request. (26) (27) NBC
- 26—In Silesia, the city of Hindenburg is captured, and the Red Army follows up a break-through to the Bay of Danzig that encircles East Prussia and virtually traps an estimated 200,000 Germans in a 4,500 square-mile pocket in East Prussia. Moscow announces that from January 12 to 26, the Red Army killed 295,000 German troops, captured 86,350; that Marshal Konev's army group, invading German Silesia on a 120-mile front, has covered 200 miles from its starting point on Jan. 12. Encirclement of East Prussia was completed with the capture of Marienburg, starting point of the Teutonic invasions of Russia in the 13th and 15th centuries. (27) N.Y.H.T. (27)
- 28—The Red Army takes Memel and completes the conquest of the Dabrowa coal fields and industries of German Silesia with capture of Katowice and Beuthen. (29)
- 29—The Red Army begins the invasion of Pomerania, and the following day it invades the Reich Province of Brandenburg. (30) (31)

FEBRUARY

- 5—The First White Russian Army pushes to within 33 miles of Berlin with capture of Zellin, and the enemy reports a Soviet crossing of the Oder northwest of outflanked Kuestrin. The following day Moscow reports the crossing. (6) (7)
- 13—The Royal Air Force and U. S. Army Air Force begin a major

aerial offensive in support of the Red Army drive, with attacks on Dresden, Magdeburg and Cottbus and other important German centers. According to a London report, Allied air liaison officers have been installed with Russian forces to help coordinate the air and ground operations. (16) (17)

13—The conquest of Budapest is completed, following a 50-day siege of the Hungarian capital. Moscow reports the total of 159,000 enemy troops killed or captured in the conquest of the eighth capital to be taken by the Red Army, the seventeenth liberated by the Allies. (14)

23—In an order marking the 27th anniversary of the Red Army, Marshal Stalin announces that the Red Army's 40-day offensive has cost the Germans 1,150,000 men (800,000 killed, 350,000 captured) raising to 9,740,000 the number killed or captured by the Red Army in three years and eight months of war. Since Jan. 12, he reveals, the Germans have lost 3,000 planes; 4,550 tanks, and 12,000 guns along a 745-mile front. In

the advance, the Red Army has captured more than 300 big cities and advanced 168 miles from the East Prussian frontier, 298 miles from the Vistula at Sandomierz, and 344 miles from Warsaw to the lower Oder "at the approaches to Berlin." Stalin states that the Red Army "in common with the armies of our Allies, is successfully bringing to an end the rout of the German Fascist Army," but warns that while "full victory over the Germans is near . . . it has to be won in hard battles." (23) *E.B.* (March 1)*

23—Conquest of Posen is completed after a month's siege, clearing the direct Warsaw-Berlin trunk railroad. (24)

24—General Dwight W. Eisenhower tells a press conference at Supreme Headquarters, "Our liaison with the Russians has always been as close and as intimate as was necessary to meet the situation at a particular moment. The Russians have furnished me with all the information I have needed to know and they have done it willingly and cheerfully." (25)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES—CRIMEA CONFERENCE

DECEMBER

2—In a message to Cordell Hull, Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov expresses regret over Mr. Hull's retirement as Secretary of State, sends him personal greetings and "regards and wishes of good health" from Joseph Stalin. (3)*

3—It is disclosed that on Nov. 24, 1944, the Leeds Music Corporation of New York acquired exclusive publishing, selling and distribution

rights in North and South America to all music by Soviet publishers from the Am-Rus Music Agency, Inc. (3)

6—U. S. officials in Edmonton, Alberta, reveal that lend-lease supplies for the USSR and Europe have been passing through that city daily in lend-lease planes being ferried to the eastern front via Canada and Alaska.—*N.Y.H.T.* (7)

6—E. W. Meyer, a Swiss national and Red Cross delegate at Washington, reveals in San Francisco that last month, in the first such exchange

of this kind in the Pacific, a Soviet ship met a Japanese vessel by pre-arrangement 75 miles at sea off a Siberian port and transferred to it 2,010 tons of food and other supplies for distribution among American prisoners of the Japanese. (7)

6—In Chicago, delegations of the 52 nations participating in the International Civil Aviation Conference leave a place open on an interim council of 21 members for the USSR, which may join the organization any time it wishes. (7)

9—In *Pravda*, David Zaslavsky charges that William L. White violated Soviet hospitality and confidence as the traveling companion of Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, in writing a book about Russia which is the "usual standard production of a Fascist kitchen with all its smells, calumny, unpardonable ignorance and ill-conceived fury." (10)

10—From Istanbul, the AP reports that four U. S. officials of the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) have been ousted from Bulgaria by Soviet officials for the second time since Bulgaria's surrender on the grounds that they were not officially accredited. (12)

14—Premier Stalin receives U. S. Ambassador W. Averell Harriman. (15)

18—*America*, the U. S. Government's first Russian-language publication, a digest-type magazine written, translated and printed in New York by the OWI, is delivered to the State Publishing House in Moscow for distribution to Soviet readers.² (19)

18—Secretary of State Edward R. Stet-

tinus Jr. defines American foreign policy as it affects the Polish dispute. The U. S. stand in favor of deferring border settlements until after the war, and the traditional American policy of "declining to give guarantees for any specific frontiers" are reiterated, but it is stated that if the "United Nations directly" reach a mutual agreement which "could make an essential contribution to the prosecution of the war against the enemy," the United States would have no objection. (19)*

24—It is disclosed in New York that Amtorg, the official Soviet trading organization in the United States, issued invitations last week to a limited number of American manufacturers to participate in a permanent commercial exhibition in Moscow. (24)

26—Denying the report in the *NAM NEWS* of December 23rd, organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, to the effect that the Soviets would withdraw from lend-lease at the end of pending commitments, Secretary of State Stettinius says that a new lend-lease protocol (for July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945) is now being worked out, and that meanwhile war supplies have continued to move over to the USSR. (27)

27—In Washington, it is revealed that the United States and Great Britain have asked the Soviet Union to explain the removal of a certain amount of equipment from the Romanian oil fields. Both are said to have been reassured by the Soviet Government that American and British interests there will be respected and that the fields will be developed in the interests of the war effort. (28) See also (6)

2. A description of the OWI publications in Russia will be found in "OWI Outpost in Moscow" by W. C. White, Vol. VI, No. 1 of the *REVIEW*.

28—Denying published reports that the shuttle service to and from American bases in the USSR has been discontinued because of Russian refusal to continue to supply the bases, an air force spokesman in Washington says that no considerations other than weather and the military situation were involved in suspension of the shuttle bombing of Germany after the raid of Sept. 18, 1944. From Moscow, which also denies that report, comes news of the appointment of Brig. Gen. Edward Hill of the Eighth Air Force as chief of the U. S. Air Forces Russian Command. (29)

JANUARY

- 1—Secretary of State Stettinius tells reporters that despite the formation of the Polish Provisional Government in Lublin the United States will continue to recognize the London Polish Government. (2)
- 6—In his "State of the Union" message to the new, Seventy-Ninth Congress, President Roosevelt admits "concern" over the Polish situation, and declares that the need for the "continuing friendship of our Allies in this war . . . is a matter of life and death." (7)*
- 6—James Reston reports that two billion dollars' worth of goods have been requested by the USSR from the United States, Britain and Canada under the fourth lend-lease protocol, but that the United States has refused to meet the request for certain industrial equipment which it feels would be more useful for Russia's post-war plans than in the war program. (7)
- 9—It is disclosed in Washington that 60 Liberty ships, each costing \$1,000,000, are being lend-leased to the Soviet Union at the rate of 20 monthly.—*N.Y.H.T.* (10)

10—Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg proposes to the Senate that the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China sign an immediate and interim "hard and fast treaty to keep Germany and Japan permanently demilitarized." (11)* (18)

25—A Soviet request for long-term credits amounting to six billion dollars for American industrial equipment for post-war reconstruction is disclosed to be under consideration in Washington. (26)

25—Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew expresses regret over the death of Ambassador and Mme. Oumansky, stating that "news of their death will come as a shock to their many friends in this country." (26) *E.B.* (28)* See *N.Y.T.*, *E.B.* (Feb. 11) on provision of U. S. plane to transport U. S. ashes to Moscow.

25—Recent incorporation of the Russian Church Assistance Fund in New York is pointed to as a step toward unification of Russian Orthodox churches in this country. The fund was set up to establish canonical and legal status for relations of Russian Orthodox churches in America with the Russian Orthodox church in the USSR. (26)

27—Operations of the Persian Gulf Command are being materially reduced, it is disclosed, due to the opening of the shorter supply line to Russia through the Dardanelles and Black Sea.³ *N.Y.H.T.* (Feb. 1)

FEBRUARY

5—In New York, Russian War Relief announces contributions of \$22,-

3. Replacement of Major General Donald H. Connolly, chief of the Persian Command, and his recall to the United States, were reported Jan. 8, in the *New York Times*. On Feb. 12th, Hanson Baldwin reports that through the Persian Gulf route, Russia since December, 1942, has received about 4,380,000 tons of supplies, including 143,000 vehicles and 3,087 planes.

695,112.71 during 1944. (6) See page 27.

5--Acting Secretary of State Grew gives assurance of State Department support for news communications and the entry of American correspondents into Germany and the liberated Balkan countries. (6)

5--Washington, London and Ottawa are disclosed to have informed the Soviet Government that the final supply schedules for the fourth lend-lease protocol are acceptable and that the new agreement, covering the period from July 1, 1944 through June 30, 1945, will be signed within the next few weeks. (6)

7--Receipt by Moscow's Central Library of Foreign Literature of a large number of books and magazines from American organizations and individuals, including Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish, is reported by the Soviet Embassy in Washington.—E.B. (7)

CRIMEA CONFERENCE

4-11--The Crimea Conference is held in Yalta. On Feb. 7, Washington, London and Moscow announce simultaneously that President Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, with their chiefs of staff, foreign secretaries and other advisers, are now meeting in the Black Sea Area where they are making plans "for completing the defeat of the common enemy, and for building, with their allies, firm foundations for a lasting peace." (8)*

The signatures "Winston S. Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and J. Stalin" are affixed to a statement dated Feb. 11, and published the following day, on the results of the Crimea Conference. It discloses that the heads of the three governments and their staffs, conferring

for eight days at Yalta, have achieved a number of important decisions including military plans for the final defeat of Germany, with the launching, in coordination, "of new and even more powerful blows . . . into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south."

Common policies and plans for "enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany," have been determined. The three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany, while the supreme commanders of the three powers, with headquarters in Berlin, will provide coordinated administration and control. France will be invited to become a fourth occupying power and member of the control commission.

The Big Three leaders proclaim next their "inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to destroy the peace of the world. . . . It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations."

A commission will be set up in Moscow to consider the extent and methods of compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries.

A United Nations conference will open in San Francisco April 25 to prepare the charter of a "general international organization to maintain peace and security." Agreement has been reached on the question of voting procedure, which was not settled at Dumbarton Oaks.

The three leaders "jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the nation of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems."

Concerning Poland, it is stated, "A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. . . .

"M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present government along the above lines. This Polish provisional government of national unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. . . .

"When a Polish provisional government of national unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the government of the USSR . . . and the government of

the United Kingdom and the government of the U. S. A., will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish provisional government of national unity, and will exchange ambassadors. . . .

"The three heads of government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognized that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish provisional government of national unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference."

The statement outlines a recommendation to Yugoslavia that a new government be formed on the basis of the agreement between Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasich, which "should be put into effect immediately."

Daily meetings between the foreign secretaries and their advisers proved so valuable that they will hereafter "meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months . . . in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London" after the San Francisco conference.

A separate agreement concluded at Yalta on the protection, maintenance and repatriation of Allied war prisoners liberated by the forces invading Germany provides that each Ally will provide food, clothes, medical attention, etc. for the nationals of the others until transport is available. In caring for Britons

and Americans, the Soviet Government will be assisted by British and American officers and will, in turn, have Soviet officials help the other two care for the Soviet citizens they liberate. (13)*⁴

12—As Mr. Stettinius arrives in Moscow, the White House discloses that Edward J. Flynn, Bronx politician, went to the Crimea with the President's party and proceeded from there to the Soviet capital with Mr. Harriman.—*N.Y.H.T.* (13)

13—Returning to Washington from the Crimea, James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, tells the press that Mr. Roosevelt proposed the solution of the Polish question and the formula on voting procedure at the conference. (14)

14—In Moscow, Patriarch Alexei and the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church receive two American delegates to the recent world assembly of the church who are reportedly seeking a reconciliation between 300 separatist congregations of 300,000 persons in the United States and Canada and the mother church. (15) (April 8)

14—Publication this summer of a Jewish Black Book of Nazi Atrocities, for which the Soviet Union has already turned over more than 500 pages of documentary proof, is announced in New York. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR is one of four organizations jointly sponsoring the book, to be

published in seven languages.—*N.Y.H.T.* (15)

16—Effective today, the Treasury Department announces that Finland, Poland and "other Baltic areas" (presumably Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) will no longer be considered "enemy territory." The ban on business communications with these areas is lifted, and postal service resumed. (16)

16—Testifying before a Congressional committee, Vice Admiral Emory S. Land reports that 3,347,000 long tons of lend-lease goods were shipped to the USSR between July, 1944 and January 1, 1945—a figure he calls "substantially in excess of our target." (17)

19—In the first case on the western front in which Germans are tried for atrocities against Russian prisoners, two German mine officials, brothers, are jailed on a charge of murdering Russian prisoners of war. (20)

19—The Massachusetts House of Representatives rejects an order calling upon Governor Maurice J. Tobin to remove the State Education Commissioner, Julius E. Warren, for participating in a conference sponsored by the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Urging rejection of the order describing Warren's appearance at the Boston University conference as "un-American," Representative Charles H. Cooke declares that since the Russians "have been able to show us a few things about fighting, it is barely possible they can teach us something about education." (20)

20—In the eighteenth report on lend-lease, submitted to Congress today, Leo T. Crowley, chief of the Foreign Economic Administration,

4. A White House statement of Feb. 20 on Mr. Roosevelt's movements following the Yalta meeting (including his observations in Sevastopol) mentions that he discussed with Mr. Churchill in Alexandria "at least one subject which they could not take up before. This had to do with Japan and the war in the Pacific, where Soviet Russia is a neutral power." (21)* On Feb. 28 at the White House, Mr. Roosevelt discloses that certain understandings reached at Yalta must remain secret for the time being. (March 1) For Mr. Roosevelt's farewell message to Stalin, see *N.Y.H.T.* (16)

states that lend-lease shipments to the USSR, up to December 1, 1944 amounted to \$7,437,000,000, which was 28 percent of total lend-lease shipments of \$35,382,000,000 to all countries. Munitions comprised the largest single item (\$3,739,000,000), among which were 6,000 tanks, 294,000 tons of explosives. Shipments also included 12,000 planes, 253,000 tons of aluminum for plane construction, 1,265,000 tons of petroleum products, 362,000 motor vehicles, 1,045 locomotives, 478,000 tons of rails, 330,000 field telephones, over 1,000,000 miles of field telephone cable, 60 power trains, industrial equipment valued at \$890,000,000 including 2,120,000 tons of steel. Shipments of agricultural products total \$1,296,731,000. (21)*

20—Harry White, Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, denies that the United States and Soviet Union are negotiating for a settlement of defaulted Tsarist bonds. (21)

23—Messages to Marshal Stalin from President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson mark the American observance of the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army.—*N.Y.H.T.* (24)*

24—In a record-breaking flight of 54 hours 10 minutes from Moscow, the first eight prisoners of war liberated from German prison camps during the Red Army's drive across western Poland reach Washington in an Army Air Transport plane. (25) For an account of their release (January 22), and their arrival in Moscow, Feb. 19, see (20)

27—At Twelfth Army advanced head-

5. On Feb. 2, Mr. Crowley mentioned among other categories of lend-lease supplies, shipped up to November 10, 1944: 11,000,000 pairs of army boots; 638,000 tons of chemicals; 97,000,000 yards of cotton cloth; 50,000,000 yards of woolen cloth, and 58,000,000 yards of webbing. *N.Y.H.T.* (3)

quarters, Alexander Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador to France, presents Soviet decorations to Lieut. Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Lieut. Gen. Leonard T. Gerow and Major Gen. Joseph L. Collins for their part in the Normandy campaign. (28)

GREAT BRITAIN—WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

DECEMBER

1—Foreign Minister Anthony Eden tells the House of Commons that Britain has asked the Soviet Union to explain the removal from the Romanian oilfields of machinery in which American and British firms claim ownership. (2) See also (28)

15—Prime Minister Churchill tells the House of Commons, "I cannot feel that Russia's demands for reassurance about her western frontiers go beyond the limit of what is reasonable or just." (16)*

20—Foreign Secretary Eden describes the French-Soviet pact as "an additional link between two European allies" and declares there is "no question of any conflict" between the treaty and the "future world security organization which all parties are seeking to establish." (21)

26—In Athens, Mr. Churchill states, "We British . . . came here with the approval of President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin." (27)

JANUARY

1—The British Foreign Office announces it won't recognize the new Lublin Provisional Government at this time. (2)

9—In London, Soviet Ambassador Gusev presents a number of Soviet awards to British leaders, including the Order of Suvorov, first class, to Field Marshal Sir Bernard L. Montgomery for "outstanding direc-

- tion of operations in the forcing of the English channel and the invasion of France." (10) D.W. (10)
- 18—Referring in his Commons address to the new Soviet offensive, Mr. Churchill states, "Marshal Stalin is very punctual. He would rather be before his time than late in combination with the Allies." (19)*
- 26—The army newspaper *Red Star* reports the liberation by the Red Army in Kreuzburg, Silesia, of two British fliers, first British prisoners freed by the Russian offensive. (27)
- 26—The second session of the International Labor Organization's executive council rejects a demand that the Soviet Union be invited to rejoin the ILO, from which it was expelled at the time of the Soviet-Finnish war.—N.Y.H.T. (27)

FEBRUARY

- 2—Led by Robert J. Watt of the American Federation of Labor, the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions at its first wartime meeting refuses to go on record as favoring a change in its constitution that would permit the entrance of the CIO and Soviet trade unions. A report proposing such a change in the rules, which was ratified "in principle" by the British Trades Union Congress, is shelved until the next general council meeting, in September. (3)
- 3—Recent Soviet bids for British-made machinery and other capital goods worth three billion dollars on 20-year credit terms have reputedly been rejected because the quantities were too large and payment extended over too long a period. (4) See also PM (Jan. 17)

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

February 6-24 — The World Trade Union Congress, held in London's County Council Cham-

bers, is attended by a Soviet delegation of thirty-five delegates, with nine advisers and interpreters. Heading the group, and named one of the three presidents of the congress, is Vassili Kuznetsov, Chairman of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, who on February 6 states that Soviet trade unions are eager to consolidate relationships with workers in democratic countries, "especially those workers who through the fault of their leaders are not represented here." This is a reference to the AFL's absence from what William Green, in Florida on Feb. 10, assails as the first step toward formation of a "new Red Trade Union International." (7) D.W. (7) Green statement. (11) See (10) for Soviet approval of the British program on treatment of Germany.

As a compromise between the British proposal to expand the IFTU, and the CIO proposal, voiced by Sidney Hillman on Feb. 12, for a completely new world labor organization, the WTUC decides to form a committee with broad powers to pave the way for creation of a new organization. The committee, which includes Soviet delegates, issues a manifesto, Feb. 22, announcing the decision to create a "new world labor organization." Labor representation at San Francisco Conference is discussed the following day at a meeting of the WTUC committee with Anthony Eden and the Soviet, United States, French and Chinese ambassadors. (13) (14) (15) (20) (21) (23) (25)

- 8—Frederick Kuh reports proposals made by Franco to Churchill for an Anglo-Spanish alliance against the

Soviet Union, and for Spanish mediation of the war have been flatly rejected by the British prime minister. Churchill, it is related, replied to the Spanish dictator's letter, believed to have been sent in November, 1944, that Britain was on terms not only of alliance but also of mutual sympathy and understanding with the USSR. A copy of the reply was sent to Stalin.—PM (8) (16) N.Y.H.T. (9)

20—In Parliament, G. H. Hall, Undersecretary of the Foreign Office, states that the British Government "attaches great importance to the freeing by the Soviet Union of all members of the former Polish underground and army who fought against the Germans, and it is hoped the matter will be fully explored with the Soviet Government in the near future." (21)

26—A report issued by the British Admiralty on delivery of war goods to the USSR concludes with this statement: "During the past 42 months, our Russian ally has safely received no less than 91.6 percent of the vast amount of war supplies shipped by the northern route, the great proportion of which have been convoyed under British escort." (26)

26—Rear Admiral E. R. Archer, chief of the British military mission to Moscow, announces that 2,500 British Empire and 1,000 American prisoners of war liberated by the Red Army will be sent home shortly from a repatriation camp set up in Odessa. The first group is expected to arrive at the port Feb. 28. (27)

27—Prime Minister Churchill calls upon Parliament to support the Yalta declaration as the world's best hope of peace, especially the

decisions on Poland. He calls the Curzon line "the fairest division of territory that can in all circumstances be made between two countries whose history has been so checkered and intermingled."

The British Prime Minister declares, "The impression that I brought back from the Crimea and from all my other contacts is that Marshal Stalin and the other Soviet leaders wish to live in honorable friendship and democracy with the western democracies. I also feel that no Government stands more to its obligations than the Russian Soviet Government. . . . Terrible, indeed, would be the fortunes of mankind if some awful schism arose between the Western democracies and the Russian people." Churchill states concerning Greece: "I particularly welcome the wish of the Greek Government that Russian, British and American observers shall be free on the spot to make sure that the will of the people finds complete and sincere expression in an election." (28)*

28—The House of Commons votes 396 to 25 against an amendment expressing regret at the decision to "transfer to another power the territory of an ally contrary to treaty and Article II of the Atlantic Charter." Commons on March 1 votes 413 to 0 its approval of the Crimea decisions. (March 1, 2)

28—London announces acceptance by Mrs. Winston Churchill, a leader in British war relief for Russia, of an invitation from the Soviet Government to visit the USSR this spring. (March 1)

BULGARIA

DECEMBER

30—Moscow announces that the three deposed regents and other former

officials of the Bulgarian Government who have been in custody of the Soviet Union will be returned, at the Bulgarian Government's request, to stand trial as war criminals in Sofia. The United States and Great Britain have also agreed to their return. (31)

JANUARY

- 12—In Sofia, former Government officials standing trial as war criminals before the People's Court plead innocent. Asked why they carried on a policy of hostility to the Soviet Union after King Boris' death in August, 1943, his brother, Prince Cyril, former Regent, replied, "We were in the hands of the Germans." (13) (Also Feb. 3)

FEBRUARY

- 25—Sofia reports the newly founded Slav Committee will organize an all-Slav congress to which Soviet and Yugoslav delegations are invited. Regent Todor Pavlov predicts the Congress will "underline a firmer friendship between Slavs." (27)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DECEMBER

- 16—Ralph Parker, writing from Moscow, discloses that the Czechoslovak State Delegation, headed by Frantisek Nemec, Minister of Reconstruction, has been administering the greater part of the Carpatho-Ukraine for nearly two months. After spending a month in Moscow, it followed General Petrov and took over civil administration from the Red Army.—PM (17)

JANUARY

- 29—In London, Dr. Hubert Ripka, Czechoslovak Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, denies rumors of conflict between the Czechoslovak

Government and the Soviet Union over the Carpatho-Ukraine (Ruthenia). (According to these rumors, which Ripka calls "foolish speculation," Ruthenia is being encouraged in its demands for incorporation into the Soviet Ukraine by irredentist radio propaganda from Kiev.) (30) See also (22)

FEBRUARY

- 17—Broadcasting from London that he is leaving for Czechoslovakia to establish a new interim Government, President Eduard Benes warns his people against Goebbels' "bolshevik bogey." He states, "The Soviet Union wishes us to be its faithful friend and ally, but it wishes us also to be independent, strong, steadfast and prosperous." (18)
- 26—In London, the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile announces an agreement has been signed with UNRRA for supplies. According to Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, the Soviet Government has agreed to make Black Sea ports available for supplies and will provide land transport. (27) See also (20) (Jan. 10)

FINLAND

DECEMBER

- 2—The Helsinki Radio reports that 46,327 Soviet citizens in Finland who were removed from Russian areas once occupied by Finnish and German armies have petitioned to be returned "to their motherland." (3)
- 11—Moscow radio reports that demobilization of the Finnish army has been completed. (12)
- 17—An agreement is signed between Finland and the Soviet Union on Finland's method of paying the \$300,000,000 reparations called for in the armistice agreement of Sept.

19, 1944. Payment will be made within six years from that date in goods at the rate of \$50,000,000 annually (1938 world market price levels). Deliveries are broken down into machinery, boats and other items worth \$175,000,000, and timber, paper, cellulose, electric cables, etc., worth \$125,000,000. (21) (See Jan. 9 on 1945 payments.)

20—The Allied Control Commission in Helsinki has approved the release of two more Finns held on war criminal charges. They are Captain Carl Ramsay and Lieut. Count Berndt Aminov, who were in charge of Russian war prisoners' camps in Finland. (21)

JANUARY

9—An agreement covering Finland's 1945 deliveries under the armistice has just been concluded, according to Stockholm, and is said to represent a considerable lightening of reparations since \$23,000,000 of the \$50,000,000 in merchandise which must be delivered can be in forest products although the USSR originally refused to accept more than 20 percent of reparations in goods of this type. The remaining deliveries will be in machinery, iron, steel, etc. (10)

16—Thirty Finnish ships valued at \$14,000,000—one-fifth of the Finnish merchant fleet—will be turned over to the Soviet Union, as war reparations, according to the Finnish publication *Mercator*. (17)

22—Reporting from Moscow on a trip to Helsinki, W. H. Lawrence states that Finland and the Soviet Union have made a good beginning in establishing friendly relations since the armistice, but that an important problem is the dissolution of the Comrades in Arms, an ex-service-

men's organization which Pavel A. Orlov, Soviet member of the Allied Control Commission, has branded as "fascist" and controlled by "the biggest fascists in Finland." He also remarked that a large section of the Finnish people demand the punishment as "war culprits" of political leaders who, while not accused of a specific war crime, took Finland into the war on Hitler's side and kept her there. Premier Paasikivi told correspondents that the Finnish Constitution has no provision for punishing government leaders who pursue incorrect foreign or military policies. (23)

FEBRUARY

2—Finland signs a trade agreement with the Soviet Union under which the Finns will receive food in return for raw materials such as nickel and cobalt and the repair of Soviet ships at Finnish docks. Between now and June 1, 1945, Finland will receive 30,000 tons of grain, 1,000 tons of sugar and 300 tons of sweets. (3) (Jan. 14)

FRANCE

DECEMBER

10—General Charles de Gaulle arrives in Moscow Dec. 2 with French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault to confer with Stalin and Molotov, and on Feb. 10, France and the Soviet Union conclude a twenty-year treaty of alliance and mutual assistance. The treaty, signed at 4:40 A. M. following a dinner and all-night meeting at the Kremlin, is announced in an official joint communiqué which states the two signatory countries have achieved unity on important issues relating to the prosecution of the war and the organization of the peace, and are in complete accord on the ne-

cessity for stern measures toward a defeated Germany to safeguard the world against new aggression. (3) (11—text of communiqué). (For text of the Franco-Soviet alliance simultaneously made public in Paris and Moscow Feb. 17, see pp. 49, 50.)

- 21—The French Assembly adopts a resolution congratulating General de Gaulle and Foreign Minister Bidault on the conclusion of the treaty, which is formally approved. De Gaulle and Bidault tell the Assembly that the pact is intended to fit into a Security System in which the United States and Great Britain would participate. "History shows," said de Gaulle, "that when France and Russia are not allied there is danger for both. The fact that they were not united between the two wars was responsible for the separate invasions of France and Russia. The French-Soviet pact is a necessity." (22)

- 25—Moscow radio announces ratification of the Franco-Soviet treaty. (26)

JANUARY

- 9—The French National Council of Resistance discloses that its president, Louis Saillant, is en route to Moscow with six delegates of the General Confederation of Labor, to return a visit of Russian labor representatives to France. (10) (17)
- 15—TASS broadcasts an official denial of an Associated Press report that the Soviet government, at France's request, "approached the United States and Britain asking them to invite de Gaulle to take part in the pending conference among Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill . . . in return for which de Gaulle agreed to support the point of view of the Soviet Union with regard to terri-

torial questions in eastern Europe, while the Soviet Union in its turn agreed to support the demand of France concerning the handing over of Rhine provinces to her." (16)*

- 16—In an interview published in the February issue of *Free World*, Foreign Minister Bidault declares that the French Provisional Government is in accord "on the principle" of the Curzon line settlement, but is in favor of compensation for Poland "on the Baltic and the line of the Oder." Bidault also states, "France can play a role in the construction of an independent Poland, friendly to Russia." (17)
- 24—Paying tribute to Fighting French collaboration with the Red Army, *Pravda* reports that six French fliers in Russian Yak fighter planes have shot down six of twelve German planes over East Prussia without loss to themselves. (26)

FEBRUARY

- 6—A special committee appointed by the French Government in December to recommend means of fitting the Franco-Soviet alliance into the security plan outlined at Dumbarton Oaks, recommends as French policy on voting within the security council that an accused power should not vote if accused of aggression, which is reported opposed to the Soviet thesis. General de Gaulle, however, is reported to have indicated in a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador soon after his return from Moscow, that he would support the Russian view. (7)
- 7—General Georges Catroux, whom the French Cabinet designated as French Ambassador to the Soviet Union on Dec. 30, leaves for Moscow. He will direct repatriation of French citizens liberated by the

Red Army. Catroux is former Governor-General of Algeria, and a French leader in the Middle East. (8)

8—Jean Le Du, first of about 15,000 French prisoners in Germany freed by the Soviet advance, lands at a Paris airfield from Moscow. The following day, Henri Frenay, French Minister for Prisoners and Deportees, blames the Soviet Government for the inability of a French repatriation mission to reach Russian soil "at the appropriate time," but states that the first members of the mission would leave in a few days. (9) (10)

15—The Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact becomes formally effective with the exchange in Paris of documents of ratification between Foreign Minister Georges Bidault and the Soviet Ambassador, Alexander Bogomolov.—*N.Y.H.T.* (17)

22—The French Foreign Office discloses that Moscow, London and Washington have provided extensive and "satisfactory" replies to the French Government's request for more information on the Yalta decisions. (23)

GERMANY

DECEMBER

14—Broadcasting an appeal from fifty high-ranking German officers captured by the Red Army, Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus calls upon the German people to rise against "Hitler, Himmler and their 'baleful system'." (15)

19—The Soviet Government makes public a report of its Commission on German Atrocities stating that 165,000 Red Army prisoners and over 300,000 civilians were slaughtered during the German occupa-

tion of Lithuania (Feb. 3). *E.B.* Feb. 1*

23—The Soviet Commission investigating war crimes in Lwow Province reports that 700,000 persons were tortured and slain by the Nazis. (24) *E.B.* (Jan. 18)*

JANUARY

3—Col. Pouyade, commander of the French Air Squadron which entered Lithuania with the Red Army, states in Cairo that he was an eyewitness to results of German atrocities in Kaunas, Lithuania, where 10,000 Jews were massacred one night in the ghetto before the Germans withdrew. (4)

29—Moscow discloses how hundreds of captive Russian laborers revolted and seized the Opel Tank and Car Works in Oppeln as the Red Armies approached the city. (30)

FEBRUARY

2—*Pravda* reports the liberation of several thousand inmates of the Nazi "murder factory" at Oswiecim, Poland. (3) *N.Y.H.T.* (3)

3—General von Seidlitz, captured German general and member of the Free Germany Committee, broadcasts an appeal to the German people to kill Hitler "and end the war." (5)

6—According to a Stockholm report, a suppressed special anti-Jewish issue of *Das Reich*, Goebbels' paper, issued two and a half weeks ago, was supposed to be the signal for a pogrom of the few remaining Jews and about 400,000 "half-Jews" in Germany. The Red Army offensive, however, is said to have dislocated the Gestapo plans for the slaughter. (7)

13—A report reaches Stockholm that some German Generals and other high ranking officers of the *Wehrmacht* who were reported killed on

the Eastern Front have actually deserted and contacted the Free German Committee in Moscow with peace proposals.—*PM* (13)

- 21—*War and the Working Class* brands as a "myth" various foreign press reports that the Soviet Union plans the use of the Free Germany Committee in Moscow and the Union of German Officers as the members of a provisional German government. (22) (25)
- 26—*Pravda* states the Nazis are preparing for World War III by setting up "underground terroristic organizations" both inside and outside Germany. (27) *E.B.* (March 3)*

HUNGARY

DECEMBER

- 21—The newly elected provisional national assembly, which begins functioning at Debrecen to form a new provisional government, appeals to the Hungarian people to break with Nazi Germany and join the allies, and not to "stand aside with folded arms, while the Russian Army alone is liberating our motherland from the German yoke." (24)
- 21—A Hungarian delegation arrives in Moscow for armistice talks. (Jan. 3)
- 23—The Hungarian Council in Britain broadcasts a call to Hungarian organizations outside of Hungary to work for a new Hungarian Government which will work in close friendship with the USSR, Britain and America and "establish a new spirit of community with the Soviet Union." (24)
- 24—Moscow radio announces formation of a provisional Hungarian Government at Debrecen, with Col. Gen. Bela Miklos, former commander of

the Hungarian First Army, as Premier. (25) (26)

- 29—Rome reports that Baron Gabriele Apor, former Deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary and envoy to the Vatican has proclaimed his loyalty to the new Provisional Government of Hungary through M. A. Kostilev, Soviet Ambassador in Rome. (30)
- 30—The Hungarian Provisional Government declares war on Germany and petitions the Allies for an armistice. (31)

JANUARY

- 20—In Moscow the Hungarian Provisional Government concludes an armistice with the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, acting for all the United Nations at war with Hungary. Under it, Hungary surrenders unconditionally and declares war on Germany, turns over its armed forces to the Allies, returns to 1937 boundaries and agrees to pay \$300,000,000 worth of reparations to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. (21) (22)†

JAPAN

DECEMBER

- 29—*Pravda* gives prominence to an article by G. Zhukov stating that Japan, "last and single ally of Hitlerite Germany," has been suffering "continuous defeat on land, sea and in the air," and that Pacific events are becoming "ever more unfavorable for her." (30)

JANUARY

- 12—According to the Berlin radio, Suemitsu Kadowaki, political ace of Japan's Foreign Office, is being sent to Moscow in a shakeup of Japanese diplomats there. (13)
- 13—A Japanese Domei agency broad-

cast from Singapore, expressing concern that Anglo-American diplomacy may try to create a rift in Soviet-Japanese relations, asserts that the Soviet Union has "everything to lose and nothing to gain" by forthright action against Japan. (14)

- 22—The Japanese Diet, in secret session, questions Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu at length on the "international situation," according to the Domei agency. The Foreign Minister tells the Japanese legislators that relations between Japan and the Soviet Union "are progressing smoothly," and that Japan intends to "abide by policies of friendly relations with the Soviet Union." (23) Also D.W. (23)

FEBRUARY

- 13—A Tokyo broadcast asserts the results of the Crimea Conference demonstrate "Anglo-American submission to the overwhelming influence of the Soviet Union." The following day according to Domei, Sadao Iguchi, spokesman for the Japanese Board of Information, denounces the conference, insists it failed to achieve unity, and asserts, "They have sold Poland down the river." (15)

POLAND

DECEMBER

- 3—*Pravda* calls Tomasz Arciszewski, new premier of the London Polish Government "one of the worst enemies of the USSR." (4)
- 7—Boleslaw Bierut, president of the Polish National Council, declares in Moscow there is no possibility of, and no use for further negotiations with the Polish Government in Exile. Bierut says he has urged Stanislas Mikolajczyk, resigned premier of the London group, to

break with the "reactionary emigre landowners" and go to Poland. (9) (13)

- 14—In a London press conference, Arciszewski rejects the boundary proposals which were the basis of Mikolajczyk's two conversations in Moscow and of Britain's attempts at mediating the problem, and advocates leaving the final definition of boundaries until after the war. He asserts that his government would welcome Anglo-U. S. mediation, but "not on the Teheran pattern with the Polish government left outside," and that Poland wants neighborly relations with the USSR, "a country 54 times our size." He states consultations are going on with the underground with a view to making a new approach. (16) PM (15)
- 18—The London Polish Government accuses the PCNL and the Red Army in Poland of "liquidation of the Polish Home Guard." *Pravda* reprints an article by Dr. Stefan Yendrikowski of the Lublin Committee declaring that Churchill and de Gaulle support Poland's claims to German territory as far west as the Oder, and that Russia, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia would support her claim, as historical right, to the territories. (19)
- 30—In London, *Jutro Polski* (organ of the Polish Peasant Party reflecting Mikolajczyk's views) charges that elements of the Arciszewski government have been gambling on a Soviet defeat, opposed the former Premier's orders to the Polish underground to cooperate with the Red Army as well as his negotiations with Moscow, and have been courting isolationist support in the U. S. (31)
- 31—Meeting in Lublin, 105 members

of the Polish National Council, representing the underground and resistance movements, form the Polish Provisional Government. Boleslaw Bierut is named President, and Edward B. Osobka-Morawski, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Jan. 1)

JANUARY

- 5—The Soviet Union extends diplomatic recognition to the Polish Provisional Government in Lublin. V. Z. Lebedev is appointed Soviet Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Poland. (6)
- 6—Lublin announces the appointment of Zygmunt Medzelewski as Ambassador of the Polish Provisional Government to the Soviet Union. (7)
- 9—The Soviet press publishes the following statement, signed by A. Gorkin, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet:
 "Rumors have been circulated in the press abroad recently implying that Boleslaw Bierut, President of the National Council of Poland, had been arrested by the fascist regime of Pilsudski and that he was later exchanged for a Pole arrested in the USSR and that such exchange took place according to an agreement between the Governments of the USSR and of Poland and authorized by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. I deem it my duty to state that such rumors have nothing in common with the facts."—*Polpress*
- 15—A decree issued by the Polish Provisional Government calls for withdrawal of Soviet currency from circulation in the Polish State. Rubles may be exchanged for zloty until February 14, after which date they

will no longer be considered legal tender in the liberated Polish areas.
 —*Polpress*

- 19—In Washington, Director General Herbert H. Lehman announces that the Soviet Government has informed his agency "of the availability of Black Sea Port reception facilities and inland transport for food, clothing, medical supplies and other relief goods consigned to Poland and Czechoslovakia. This clears the way for the first shipments of relief supplies from UNRRA to the liberated portions of the two nations." (20) *N.Y.H.T.* (20)
 - 26—In Moscow, Polish Ambassador Modzelewski discloses that Warsaw is now under command of a Polish general, and that representatives of the Provisional Government are entering other liberated communities "at the first moment" to relieve the Red Army of responsibility for civilians. (27)
- ## FEBRUARY
- 1—Boleslaw Bierut discloses that the Polish Provisional Government has started incorporating pre-war German territory into Poland. (6) (7)
 - 6—The London Polish Government is reported to have appealed twice within the past month to the U. S. and British Governments to halt alleged imprisonments, deportations and population transfers. The first such appeal asked for an international commission to rule Poland until elections could be held. (7)
 - 7—Dissolution of the Polish home army is announced in an order of the day by President Raczekiewicz. (8) (10)
 - 13—A communiqué of the Polish Government in Exile states that the Crimea Conference decision on Poland "cannot be recognized by the

Polish Government and cannot bind the Polish nation." The territorial proposal based on the Curzon line is called "the fifth partition of Poland now accomplished by her allies." The plan for creating a "Provisional Polish Government of National Unity" is described as a program which "can only legalize Soviet interference in Polish internal affairs." With the text of this communiqué is published the text of an appeal made by Arciszewski to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill during the Crimea Conference requesting that they not take any action which might jeopardize "the legitimate rights of Poland or her independence." (14)*

17—The Moscow press publishes a message of thanks to the Soviet Government from the Poles for the dispatch of 30,000 tons of grain to newly liberated sections. (18)

18—Moscow announces that the Soviet Government, at the request of the Polish Lublin Government, will help rebuild Warsaw. (19)

20—Ex-Premier Mikolajczyk tells the Associated Press that, if invited by the Big Three, he would go to Moscow to aid in the establishment of a new Polish Government of National Unity. He confers later with Mr. Eden. (21)

22—The Polish Christian Labor Party in London announces it will withdraw from the Arciszewski Cabinet because it favors negotiations on the basis of the Crimea decision. (23)

26—President Racziewicz appoints Lt.-General Wladislaw L. Anders, anti-Soviet commander of the Polish Army in Italy, Acting Commander in Chief of all Polish armed forces affiliated with the London regime. (27)

26—The *Virtuti Militari* Cross, First

Class, has been conferred by the Provisional Polish Government upon Soviet Marshals Zhukov, Konev and Rokossovsky, it is disclosed by the Polish Army newspaper.—*Polpress*

ROMANIA

DECEMBER

3—Formerly Nazi-owned heavy machinery, parts of factories, and oil refinery equipment from Ploesti and Campina are being removed to the Soviet Union in accordance with the armistice. (4)

7—TASS reports that 4,000 Soviet citizens have been liberated from Bucharest prisons by the Allied Control Commission. (8)

29—TASS announces that 386,000 tons of petroleum have been shipped to the Soviet Union from Romania in the past three months, and 880 freighters filled with recovered Soviet property have reached Constanta for shipment to Odessa.—*N.Y.H.T.* (30)

JANUARY

16—An economic treaty is signed between Romania and the USSR.—*N.Y.H.T.* (18)

17—An agreement is completed between Romania and the Soviet Union on payment of reparations under the armistice. Shortly thereafter, the Inter-Allied Control Commission, which met first on December 20, 1944, holds its second formal meeting in Bucharest.—*N.Y.H.T.* (18)

21—Romanian Communications Minister Gheorge Gheorgiu-Dej reports that following recent conferences in Moscow he has obtained permission to increase from 1,100 to 2,500 the number of railway cars in Romania for the distribution of supplies, and that under the armistice his country is no longer obliged

- to deliver cars and locomotives to Russia and would salvage 23,000 abandoned foreign cars, hitherto considered Russian booty. (23)
- 28—In a manifesto dated Jan. 22 and published today, the new Romanian National Democratic Front attacks "anti-popular" government policies, stating, "The way the government, in which reactionary elements predominate, is directing the country hampers the establishment of a sincere and stable friendship with the USSR." (Feb 12) *E.B.* (March 1)
- 30—Bucharest reports that Romania has shipped 478,000 tons of oil and has 60,000 more tons ready for delivery to the Soviet Union as reparations.—*D.W.* (31)

FEBRUARY

- 24—In Bucharest, and other Romanian cities, where National Democratic Front demonstrators demanding "decisive action against pro-Fascist elements in the Government and dismissal of the Government" are fired upon by troops and gendarmes, shooting at demonstrators is stopped "on demand of representatives of the Allied Control Commission." The next day, martial law is reportedly decreed. During the past few days, Berne reports, the Soviet High Command has ordered Romanian forces to be withdrawn from northern Transylvania for "maltreatment of the Hungarian population," and disorders are reported to be interfering with communication lines to the Soviet front in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. (25) (27) *E.B.* (March 1)
- 26—Bucharest radio states that practically all livestock removed by the Romanians from Soviet areas which were under their occupation have been returned. (27)
- 27—Bucharest papers publish the text of a telegram sent by nine members of General Radescu's cabinet to King Michael protesting the shooting of demonstrators in Bucharest and other cities, and demanding Premier Radescu's dismissal. Andrei Vyshinsky, Soviet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, arrives in Bucharest to investigate the government crisis. (28)
- 28—King Michael receives the resignation of the entire Radescu Cabinet and begins consultations aimed at formation of a new government. (March 1)

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

DECEMBER

- 3—It is disclosed that Iran's Parliament has approved a bill making it a crime for any official to negotiate with a foreign government for oil concessions in Iran. (4)
- 18—The Iranian Government, proposing new talks with the Soviet Union regarding the sale of oil in northern Iran, expresses hope that the Russians will buy oil from fields "exploited by Iranians with the help of Russian machinery and engineers and money." (19)

JANUARY

- 8—From Cairo, C. L. Sulzberger reports growing Soviet influence in the Near East, one factor being the resurgence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Moreover, Soviet Moslems are taking part in pilgrimages to Mecca, for the first time in Soviet history, and in Palestine a society of Friends of the Soviet Union has been organized by Arabs. (9) (15)
- 23—Recent rumors that the Soviet Union is planning to appoint a Minister of State for the Middle

East and has bought a large bloc of shares in the Suez Canal, are denied by Russian Minister Alexei Shchorin in a visit to Premier Ahmed Pasha in Cairo. (24)

- 23—Dr. Nahum Goldman, U. S. political representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, makes public an official statement from the USSR denying reports that it is opposing or obstructing emigration of Jewish citizens of Balkan countries to Palestine.—*D.W.* (24)

FEBRUARY

- 23—In a debate preceding Turkey's declaration of war on Germany and Japan, effective March 1, her record of friendliness with the USSR is reviewed. (24)

LATIN AMERICA

DECEMBER

- 11—In Washington, Chilean Ambassador Marcial Mora and Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, sign an agreement establishing diplomatic relations between their two countries—for the first time since Tsarist days.—*N.Y.H.T.* (12)

- 17—Moscow announces acceptance of Nicaragua's offer to establish diplomatic and consular relations, following an exchange of notes by both ambassadors at Mexico City.—*N.Y.H.T.* (18)

JANUARY

- 25—Konstantin A. Oumansky, 42, Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, Mrs. Oumansky and seven other persons, including three members of the Soviet Embassy Staff in Mexico City, are killed in the explosion of a Mexican Air Force plane as it takes off from Mexico City for Costa Rica, where Mr. Oumansky was to present his letters of cre-

dence as Soviet Minister to that country following establishment of diplomatic relations last year. General Lazaro Cardenas, Mexican War Minister, orders an investigation. Grigory P. Kasparov, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy becomes chargé d'Affaires. (26) See (27) for funeral.

FEBRUARY

- 9—In Mexico, President Camacho's commission of inquiry publishes a report ruling out sabotage as the cause of the plane crash and attributing the accident to an error in navigation on the part of the Mexican pilot. (10)
- 26—Argentine Vice President, Col. Juan D. Peron, states in an interview that he has been "an advocate of the view that we as a nation cannot ignore Russia as a great factor in the world. I believe and long have said we should initiate steps toward formal relations with Moscow." (27)

OTHER COUNTRIES

DECEMBER

- 18—A recent conference in Tirana, Albania, between a Soviet mission and the Albanian premier Enver Hoxhá is reported from Rome. (19)

JANUARY

- 16—The Norwegian Government announces the arrival of the first of its specially trained police troops in East Finnmark, liberated last Fall by the Red Army. (17) *PM* (16)
- 22—Distribution by the Red Army's relief services of hundreds of tons of food in the Belgrade region, much of it by oxen-drawn carts, during the many weeks of stalemated negotiations between Marshal Tito and Allied military authorities is reported as an agreement is signed which will enable UNRRA to be-

gin operating in Yugoslavia. (23)
FEBRUARY

1—Telegraphic communications between Italy and the Soviet Union open to civilians (Jan. 28)

1—In Athens, Greek Foreign Minister John Sofianopoulos states that while Greece as a Mediterranean country must cultivate an identity of interests with Britain, it does not lose sight of "the vast and powerful Soviet Union, whose interests in the northern Balkans are evident." (2)

20—The Regent of Greece, Archbishop Damaskinos, tells Henry J. Taylor, Scripps-Howard writer, he is convinced that the "Communist element in the tragic conflict was not supported or directed from the Kremlin in this attempt to seize Greece. The insurrection here was not an instrument of Russian foreign policy. . . ."—*New York World Telegram*. (20)

27—In London, it is disclosed that the Netherlands government has opened negotiations with the USSR for repatriation of 200,000 citizens expected to be liberated by the Red Army. (28)

VATICAN

DECEMBER

31—*Pravda* charges that the Christmas message of Pope Pius XII reflects a "policy to help Germany escape full responsibility for her crimes. . . . The Pope thinks the keystone of world security is to treat victors and vanquished as equals. . . ."—*D.W.* (Jan. 1) Also *N.Y.H.T.* (Jan. 8)

JANUARY

19—The newspaper *Domenica* publishes a message to Pope Pius in which President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia is quoted as having urged the Pontiff to use his good office

to help effect an understanding between Russians and Poles. (19)

24—In what is regarded as a conciliatory answer to *Pravda's* recent criticism of the Pope's Christmas message, *Osservatore Romano*, Vatican City newspaper, denies that the Pontiff asked for equal treatment for victors and vanquished, and asserts he dealt elsewhere with Nazi crimes. (25)

30—In an interview today with Harry Hopkins, who is en route to the Big Three conference, Pope Pius is believed by "authoritative Vatican quarters . . . on the basis of everything the Pope has said publicly and privately," to have backed the plea of the Polish government in London for a joint Allied government of Poland until a plebiscite is possible." (31)

FEBRUARY

9—Moscow radio broadcasts a statement issued by eight world leaders of the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches (including Alexei Patriarch of Russia) who are in Moscow for the assembly of the Russian Orthodox Church. They "lift their voice against the efforts of those, particularly the Vatican, who . . . attempting in their utterances to absolve Hitler Germany of responsibility for all the abominable deeds she has committed . . . are . . . seeking in our estimation to allow the continued existence on earth after the war of misanthropic, un-Christian Fascist doctrine and its agents." (10) *E.B.* (15)*

17—The Vatican issuing one of its rare official denials (to a statement broadcast from Moscow yesterday that the Pope failed to obtain an invitation to the Crimea Conference and was therefore displeased with its results) states, "the Holy See had not the slightest thought of taking part." (18)

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NEWS IN BRIEF

FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

(Continued from page 21)

Alexei stated in an address of welcome, "We have no estates, neither private nor church, and every citizen, no matter who he may be, is able freely to enter his chosen field. Hence, those who enter our holy institutions are entering of their own free will because they wish to serve the Church. The whole structure of these schools must be strictly clerical in nature, without the slightest tendency toward a secular tone, and our charges are expected to subordinate themselves to the Church."

Rector S. V. Savinsky cautioned instructors that the preparation of clergymen and future prelates "devoted to both Church and Fatherland in these changing times" would not be easy. He continued, "One must be devoted to his country and be a patriot, a true citizen, obeying the incumbent government not from fear but from one's own conscience in order to train students effectively in these fundamentals."

The Moscow Divinity Institute, operating with the financial support of the Church, has a three-year curriculum, including two years of formal courses. In addition to church and liturgical subjects, these include a study of the Soviet Constitution and several languages, including English and German. Students, who must be at least 18 and graduates of the secondary schools, board and room in dormitories attached to the institution. The seminary has its own church and a library, which is being augmented with contributions from Soviet public libraries.

Among the 32 students now completing their first year at the divinity school are a young clergyman invalided in the war, and nine graduates of Soviet universities and technical institutes. Affiliated courses have been opened by the institute in other Russian cities.

RE-FORESTING THE UKRAINE

WHILE BURNT-OFF stumps and fallen trees, the scarred remains of nearly 125,000 acres of war-ravaged Ukrainian forestland, were being salvaged and turned into anti-tank defenses, bridges and blindages, the Ukraine was also launching its re-forestation program. Of nearly one and one-quarter million acres scheduled to be replanted over a 10-year period, about 17,500 acres were restocked last year with fast-growing saplings, among them trees reportedly new to the republic. Those now being introduced include American and Manchurian hazelnut, Siberian

larch, and the Amur "velvet" tree. The American red oak is also being cultivated.

Planting of some five million poplar, birch, American maple and other saplings is involved in a four-year afforestation program going ahead on 150,000 acres of the Kulundin steppes of the Altai Territory in south-central Siberia. Shelter belts are being set up to save the Altai wheat crops from destructive wind and sandstorms which have at times blown away topsoil and seed. Under expert guidance, Altai Territory farmers began last fall to prepare the ground and plant trees for a ramified system of windbreaks.

ENGINEERS AT LEISURE

FIFTY thousand Soviet engineers, members of more than a score of societies and committees functioning under the All-Union Council of Scientific and Engineering Societies, devote their spare time to working on problems which are not dealt with under the research programs of the industrial commissariats. The so-called leisure time of these engineers is now almost entirely devoted to problems of reconstruction, with

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HOGS FOR SIBERIA

BY cross-breeding northern Siberian hogs with a selected British porker, the Siberian Livestock Research Institute in Novosibirsk recently announced that it has produced a hog which thrives in Siberia's rigorous climate. This result of 11 years' experimentation is expected to spur pig-raising in Siberia, a fairly recent development.

NEW ZEALAND FLAX

A PLANTATION in the Georgian Republic, near the city of Kobuleti, has harvested the USSR's first crop of New Zealand flax, and it is being turned into marine rope and binding for Caucasian vines. Production schedules call for 200 tons of the rope this year.

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Symphonie Fantastique by Berlioz has been adapted for ballet by the Kiev Theater of Opera and Ballet, which returned home this season with a larger repertory than it possessed when it was evacuated to Siberia early in the war.

HOME INDUSTRIES ACTIVE

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